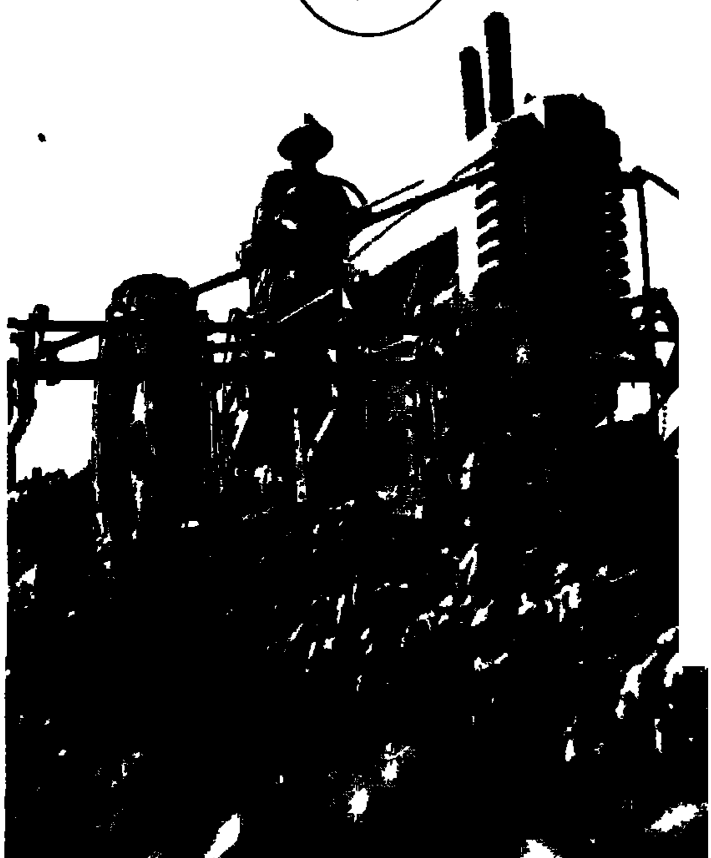
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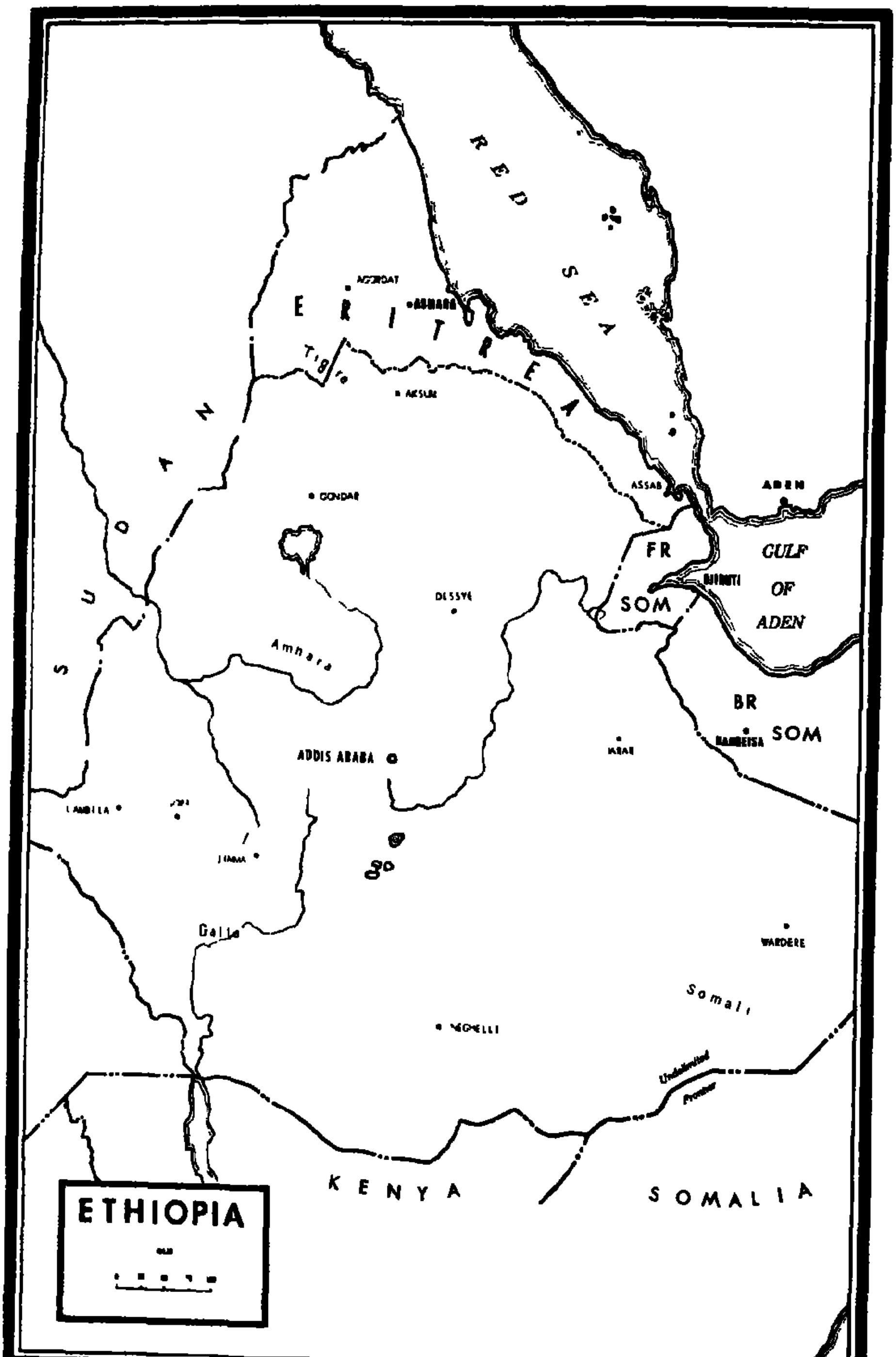
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RECENT PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY

James A. Morris

THE effort now being made by the Turkish Republic to achieve economic, military, and political parity with Western European nations has far-reaching implications for it and for the Free World. Modern Turkey has been vigorously engaged in improving the living standards of its people for less than forty years but in this short span of time has been successful in orienting itself toward Western methods and in narrowing the gap between its standards and those of the more industrialized nations. The only aspect of this impressive effort being considered here is the economic development effort of the past ten years, but this program must be viewed in the context of the goals and aspirations of Turkey's people and against its resource background.

In the 1920's, after modern Turkey emerged as a nation, the economy was basically in balance at a low level of income, dependent upon mineral and agricultural exports for its necessary supply of manufactured goods. As a raw material exporting nation its position was precarious in the depressed 1930's and Turkey attempted to solve its problems by rapid industrialization under state control. This period of forced industrialization or Etatism, although not especially well planned or executed, provided experience and some

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industrial facilities useful subsequently. During World War II, Turkey was cut off from world trade channels and consequently experienced critical shortages in industrial and consumer goods, although suffering no war damage. After the war, development moved forward slowly under the impetus of favorable markets for raw materials, but the pace of industrial growth was slow.[1]

A most ambitious economic development effort has been under way since 1948, supported by increasing amounts of economic aid from the United States and by credits from Western Europe. Every segment of the economy has received attention, including manufacturing, agriculture, power, mining and transportation. The emphasis has been on industrialization with the objective of meeting Western European standards of production and on stimulation of agricultural productivity. The program has been state directed and to a considerable degree publicly implemented, but attention has also been directed toward stimulating private enterprise and private foreign investment. While there can be no question that economic growth has occurred in real terms, development has been accompanied and hindered by serious problems of inflation, foreign exchange imbalances, critical shortages both of producer and consumer goods, and difficulties of all sorts. Lack of effective direction and coordination have led to misallocation and waste of scarce resources, thereby affecting the rate of growth.

A preliminary evaluation of the growth potential of Turkey reveals many favorable factors, including basic self-sufficiency in agricultural production, extensive and high quality deposits of strategic raw materials for industrial purposes, a reasonably comprehensive transportation complex, some basic industrial facilities for production of steel, cement, paper, textiles, and other products, and excellent natural ports. Also significant are the existence of a stable government which is development conscious, a disciplined, hard working labor force, at least the rudiments of a private enterprise system, and favorable laws for foreign investors. Fundamental obstacles to development are shortages of capital because of low levels of income and a low rate of savings, inadequate technical know-how for entrepreneurs and skills for workers, and critical foreign exchange shortages. More subtle yet significant obstacles are the unwillingness to plan realistically, which stems from a determination to catch up with Europe overly quickly in terms of industrial strength, and a rather cumbersome governmental administrative complex which, while voicing support of free enterprise, has extended major resource support to the public sector. On balance, Turkey has the economic essentials, the basic governmental and social framework, and suitable attitudes for sustained, balanced

1. The report of a World Bank Mission, *The Economy of Turkey*, Washington, 1951, provides an excellent summary of economic development in Turkey to 1951.

development at a reasonable pace. Analysis of recent experience will provide a basis for judgment as to whether Turkey's approach to development is designed to realize its maximum potential.

Turkey's pattern of development since 1948 can be explained by no basic thesis such as a drive for self-sufficiency or balanced growth, nor can it be held that any overall plan has been adhered to. Growth has proceeded on all fronts in an un-coordinated manner, stimulated and directed by the compulsion to build factories, to develop transportation and electric generation facilities, and to improve productivity on the farm. This effort has been financed by compulsory savings to some degree but more directly by exhausting gold stocks and foreign exchange reserves, by extending national credit beyond reasonable limits and by utilizing economic aid. With the possible exception of wheat, major dependence has not been placed on growth through systematic expansion of agricultural exports and, in point of fact, internal inflationary pressures have actually retarded the normal expansion of such exports. Social overhead facilities have received considerable attention, in particular the network of all-weather highways, and to some extent railroads as well. In recent years multi-purpose dams have been built and a grid system is now in existence in northwest Anatolia. A more recent project has been the modernization of port facilities and the improvement of natural ports. In the field of industry special emphasis has been placed on the heavy industries, such as coal, steel and cement, but consumer good facilities such as sugar refineries and textile plants have also received attention. A spectacular but not especially productive aspect of the development effort of Turkey has been the program of reconstruction of the major cities, especially Istanbul, with particular emphasis on aesthetic qualities rather than function. The considerable amount of luxury housing built in recent years is also of questionable value from the social and economic standpoints.

According to government data, Gross National Product in terms of 1948 prices increased by 57.7 per cent between 1948 and 1957.[2] On a per capita basis, considering the average increase in population of almost 3 per cent per year, the increase in real product was about 3 per cent per year, although in point of fact the largest gains were registered during the period 1948 to 1953. Gains in agricultural production have been erratic and uneven, dependent to a large extent on climatic conditions, but the data indicate an increase in real value from 1948 to 1957 of 32 5 per cent. At the same time the industrial sector developed relative to agriculture, with increases of 65.9 per cent in manufacturing, 163.8 per cent in mining and 235.0 per cent in public utility production value in real terms. For the transportation and communications

2. Central Statistical Office, Republic of Turkey, *National Income of Turkey* Publication No 382, 1958, p 17 Data for 1957 are first provisional estimates

sector the increase in real value of product from 1948 to 1957 was 150.4 per cent, while there was a gain of 40.3 per cent in wholesale and retail trade.[3]

Development activities have been carried out by many government economic enterprises including Sumerbank in manufacturing, Etibank in mining, and special companies in various productive fields such as cement, sugar, and petroleum. In agriculture, trade, and smaller industries private enterprise dominates, but government control programs of multifarious types govern activity to a significant degree. By its decisions on allocation of domestic raw materials, on granting of import licenses, by subsidies and price supports, and by monetary and fiscal policy the government controls the functioning of the economy Government enterprises vie for investment funds, import licenses, and raw materials, and decisions in this area have tended to be made in an *ad hoc* fashion rather than by careful and coordinated planning.

In the past few years coordination agencies have been created by the government to include a Bank Credit Regulation Committee, a Foreign Exchange Committee and an Internal Finance Committee, and the Central Bank and the Ministries of Finance, Commerce and State Enterprises exert some influence in this sphere In the absence of a central economic coordinating agency, however, and with inadequate use of the price and profit mechanism, decisions tend to be made on a day-to-day basis by diverse agencies. Under such a system resources tend to be allocated, at least in part, on the basis of subjective evaluation of national need or political criteria, with the accompanying dangers of misallocation.

In the private sector, the Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry assists in coordinating requests for foreign exchange and import licenses, submitting recommendations to the government in this connection. Noteworthy development results have also stemmed from the Industrial Development Bank, a private institution set up with assistance of the World Bank, although foreign exchange resources available for investment have been very limited.[4] Liberalization of laws regulating foreign investment in Turkey for both industry and mining have also been passed in recent years which will promote such investment further when economic conditions and market potential provide sufficient incentives Some foreign concerns have established branches in Turkey since passage of the basic law in 1954, but economic instability and raw material shortages have seriously discouraged expansion of such investment.

Techniques used to stimulate agricultural production have included expansion of cultivated land, supplying of machinery under liberal credit terms, increased extension work, public construction of irrigation systems, seed improvement, and subsidies and price supports. State farms have performed

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3 *Ibid*

4 Between 1950 and 1958, the total value of credit distributed by the IDB amounted to TL 256 million Turkiye Is Bankası, *Monthly Review of Economic Conditions*, March-April, 1959.

notable research work and have also produced substantial crops, while other research activities have been carried out by the Sugar Company and the Ministry of Agriculture. At the same time, progress in mechanization has been impeded by the problem of servicing equipment, especially tractors, and also because of shortages of fuels. Productivity could also have been stimulated by providing simple metal equipment such as plows which could have been more easily adopted by farmers, are easier to maintain, and are a vast improvement over existing tools, especially when the low level of labor costs is considered. Nonetheless, production of major crops increased significantly between 1948 and 1958: cereal production by 67 per cent, cotton by 204 per cent, sugar beets by 222 per cent and tobacco by 25 per cent[5] These production increases illustrate rather general increases in agricultural output and have been reflected to some degree in an increase in the value of exports, especially for tobacco, fruit and, more unevenly, for cotton. At the same time, the projected program of wheat exports, for which an extensive network of storage facilities has been built, has not materialized. Because of limited irrigation systems in operation, extremely short supplies of fertilizer and the vagaries of the weather it would be unwise to depend on wheat as a reliable major export crop in the foreseeable future. Increasing domestic needs for such crops as cotton and sugar beets and inflationary prices have also been factors restricting exports of cash crops. Some effort has been expended in developing the fishing and forest products industries but the potential in these areas, which could result in exports or reduction of imports, is still basically untouched

Perhaps the most significant of the social overhead investment projects has been development of transportation facilities to include the construction of a national highway network, the improvement and extension of railway lines to create a unified system, the creation of an airways system, and the modernization of port facilities. This program, supported by technical and capital aid from the United States, has stimulated agricultural and mining production and distribution and has contributed toward the creation of a mass domestic market. Such a development, to include further expansion and effective maintenance, is a necessary prerequisite for the build-up of an industrial society. Indicative of this expansion has been an increase in gross ton/kilometers of railway freight traffic between 1948 and 1958 of 87 per cent and an increase in ton/kilometers carried by motor trucks of almost six-fold.[6] An ambitious program of construction of thermo and hydro-electric power plants has also been initiated by government agencies. Installed capacity almost doubled between 1948 and 1954, and substantial expansions followed. In

5. Central Statistical Office, Republic of Turkey, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, No. 64, June, 1959

6. Turkiye Is Bankasi, *Review of Economic Conditions*, July-August, 1959, Ankara

1956 alone nine plants were added with an initial capacity of 115,000 KW and more plants have been built since. As a result, generation of electricity expanded almost four-fold between 1948 and 1958.[7] With the recent completion of a grid system in the major industrial area of Turkey another stimulus has been given to manufacturing The power program has been criticized on the grounds that some projects have been built in areas where demand is quite inadequate to utilize capacity and that resources have been tied up which could have been used more profitably elsewhere. On the other hand a well-planned program of building over-capacity in social overhead facilities can be defended on the basis of unavoidable indivisibilities and on the basis of anticipated demand stimulated by the existence of dependable and inexpensive power. It is doubtful in the Turkish case whether power facilities in general have been built too far ahead of demand, and irrigation and flood control uses also must be considered [8]

Development of mineral resources on a systematic basis has been handicapped by lack of knowledge of resources, although production of known minerals has increased significantly Production and exports of some minerals rose substantially between 1948 and 1958 while the overall minerals production index more than doubled in this period. Especially impressive were a six-fold increase in iron ore production, a more than three-fold rise in chrome production and expansions in production of coal, copper, manganese, and sulphur [9] Between 1948 and 1958 the value of mineral exports increased from 31 million Turkish Lira to 90 million Turkish Lira at the same time that domestic processing of minerals for home consumption was expanding.[10]

In manufacturing, emphasis has been placed on expanding production of imported producers' goods like steel and cement, as well as on the consumer good industries such as textiles, sugar-refining and meat-packing Between 1948 and 1958 iron and steel production doubled, cement production registered more than a four-fold increase, and production of sugar and paper expanded three-fold [11]

Five modern meat-packing plants were also built during this period, many new textile plants were constructed, and a nitrogen fixation plant was initiated, as well as other plants in diverse industries, both private and public Impressive as the record is, a number of questions arise as to whether greater growth could have materialized with the same expenditure of resources by using different methods A significantly large proportion of the new facilities has

7 Central Statistical Office, *Bulletin 64*, p 9

8 Professor Ragnar Nurkse stressed the desirability of the building ahead of social overhead facilities to stimulate private industrial investment in a lecture at the University of Ankara, June 14, 1957

9 Central Statistical Office, *Bulletin 64*, p 10

10 *Ibid*, p 95

11 *Ibid*, p 11

been built by public enterprises, with resources diverted from the private sector for this purpose. Because of this diversion, over-extension of credit to build facilities, and general economic instability, industrial production in many lines has been impeded by shortages of raw materials and spare parts. Also balanced consideration has not always been given to locational planning or to comparative costing when industrial plants have been placed on the basis of a need for development or other considerations. In addition, while ostensibly many facilities, such as plants for sugar refining and cement production, have been established to reduce imports or to increase exports, domestic consumption has increased to the degree that only limited foreign exchange benefits have accrued. Some industrial facilities, such as meat-packing plants, have been built well before adequate raw material supplies have been available While efforts have been made to rectify the situation, some degree of misallocation of resources has been involved because of this. Most significant, however, has been the method of financing which has had sufficient impact on the economy to retard development to some degree

Despite the positive encouragement of investment by private foreign companies provided by several laws passed since 1954, which among other things provide for unlimited transfer of profits and capital, relatively few foreign companies have invested funds in Turkey. Between 1951 and 1958, foreign investments in Turkey totaled TL 56,534,982, most of which came from American, Dutch, German, English and French investors.[12] Relative to either potential or needs, this is a modest amount. Thus the full effect of an invigorating transfer of technical know-how and capital has been lacking in industrial development. This reluctance to invest is basically explained by economic instability and an unduly cumbersome administrative framework for effectuating investment. Some foreign companies have initiated operations in Turkey, and some have had disappointing results because of marketing problems, but more especially because of difficulties in obtaining adequate supplies of raw materials and spare parts Even firms producing essential items have experienced costly shut-down periods because of inadequate allocations of foreign exchange for raw materials. The potential in this area is great but will likely await greater economic stability and market expansion.

Several aspects of this record are significant in evaluation of the effectiveness of the development effort· (1) expansion of Gross National Product was rapid to 1953 and then slowed down; (2) agricultural production gains more than kept pace with population increases because of an expansion of cultivated land and technological improvements, (3) social overhead facilities to include transportation and public utilities scored impressive gains while

12. Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Commodity Exchanges, *Foreign Capital Investments in Turkey*, 1959

manufacturing production showed a more gradual increase; (4) trade gains were well below those in most other areas, underscoring the increased government activity and the limited increases in consumption goods available for distribution, (5) the increase in the investment rate resulted from forced savings and credits or aid from abroad

These substantial real gains in production and income have been accompanied and affected by economic instability generated by lack of a coordinated development plan and by the pressures of excess demand. It can be expected that demand pressures will accompany relatively high rates of investment in underdeveloped countries with a low private propensity to save, but for maximum development results it is essential that inflationary pressures be controlled

It may logically be argued that some degree of inflation may actually accelerate the pace of development and the level of employment by creating forced savings and providing incentives to private investment The difficulties in Turkey were that excessive inflationary tendencies developed and that many barriers restricted the growth of private investment. In addition, the efficiency with which investment funds were allocated and resources were combined also played a significant role in dictating the extent to which inflationary disorders handicapped the development effort In this case, the various tests of performance indicate a degree of inflation sufficient to interfere with orderly economic progress

Wholesale price data published by government agencies registered an increase of only seven per cent to 1953 (1948 = 100) but the index climbed to an average of 148 in 1956 and by December of 1958 the index had reached 231[13] Official indexes of retail prices in Istanbul and Ankara followed a similar pattern and showed an increase of about 125 per cent between 1948 and December 1958, with most of the rise occurring in the last four years of the period These inflationary tendencies were reflected in the free foreign exchange market by a decreasing value of the Turkish Lira with an official exchange rate of TL 2.80 = $1. The market rate moved from TL 4.55 = $1 in 1948 to TL 5 62 = $1 in 1953, and except for brief periods, declined continuously to TL 15.00 = $1 in April 1958.[14] During this active development period the supply of money and credit rose considerably faster than increases in production, adding fuel to the inflationary fires. The total money supply increased by 98 per cent from 1948 to the end of 1953 and by a further 106 per cent by November 1957. For the whole period 1948 to 1958 Central Bank credit multiplied more than five-fold while other bank credit rose about eight-

13 Central Statistical Office, *Bulletin 64*, pp 30-35

14 U S Operations Mission to Turkey, *Turkish Economic Statistics*, 1958, pp 15-16 The *Wall Street Journal*, November 25, 1959, records a value for the Turkish Lira of $ 0725 in New York

fold.[15] Since 1953 the government budget has been unbalanced, even if American counterpart aid is considered, and the size of the budget almost doubled in this period, with investment expenditures increasing percentage-wise. Significant increases in both internal and external debt resulted from the development effort and the method used to finance it during the period under study

Examination of foreign trade activity and the balance of payment reveals trends in resource availability and the extent to which the development effort affected and was affected by external trade. Expressed in current currency values at the official exchange rate, exports and imports were approximately doubled in the period 1948 to 1953 while the deficit in the balance of trade increased from $78 million to $137 million. From 1953 to 1958, however, exports in current Lira terms declined by about 38 per cent and imports fell by over 48 per cent The deficit in the balance of trade declined from $137 million in 1958 to $68 million in 1958, expressed in these same terms [16]

While no single factor adequately explains these changes in trade patterns, a vicious circle effect of inflationary pressures on the development effort is apparent Despite a program of export subsidies, it became more difficult to sell Turkish products in international markets because of a disparity between internal and external prices and uncertainties as to the possibility of readjustment of official exchange rates. At the same time a reduction in exports and increased reluctance by foreign suppliers to extend further credits to Turkey forced a downward scaling of imports. Shortages of critically needed raw materials and spare parts impeded production and thereby retarded the export program further. The natural stimulus to domestic industry producing import substitutes was nullified by shortages of critical materials and parts Other factors are in the picture but this process, not uncommon in developing countries, has seriously affected the economy of Turkey.

To a considerable extent, American economic aid and foreign credits have been the major offsetting factors in the Balance of Payments. Paid shipments of United States aid increased from $30 8 million in 1953 to $91.2 million in 1957, while programmed economic aid of all types, to include Public Law 480 surplus commodities, rose from $57.5 million to $175 5 million during the same period [17] During the past few years the character of economic aid has altered to consist primarily of raw materials, spare parts, operating supplies, and surplus commodities rather than capital goods. As a result it might be said that American aid has been utilized to support the current functioning of the economy and to restrain inflationary pressures. A closer look, however,

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15 Central Statistical Office, *Bulletin 64*, pp 16-19

16 *Ibid*, p 85

17. U S Operations Mission to Turkey, *Turkish Economic Statistics*, pp 23-25

would reveal that to the extent that such pressures were relieved for the Turks, they found it possible to utilize whatever resources they could find or borrow to expand investment.

Investment expenditures in both the private and public sectors have increased substantially in Turkey in absolute terms and relative to the total quantity of resources available Gross national investment expanded by 257 per cent in current Lira terms from 1948 to 1955 while total available resources rose during the same period by 105 per cent.[18] During the period 1953 to 1956, gross private investment increased by 59 per cent while gross public investment rose by 77 per cent [19] Planned investment expenditures for development purposes in the 1958 Turkish Budget were proposed at 1,536 million Lira as compared with 279 million Lira for this purpose in 1950, representing a rise from 18 per cent to 33 per cent of the budget.[20] The great bulk of the public investment expenditures were directed toward the agricultural, transportation and communications sectors. For the period 1953 through 1957 various sectors received the following percentages of government investment funds:[21]

Industry, mining and electric power	6.7
Agriculture	28.2
Transportation and Communications	52.4
Public Works	12.7

Gross national investment rose from 8 4 per cent of Gross Domestic Product in 1948 to 14 9 per cent in 1955, both in current Lira terms.[22] At the same time personal and government consumption increased absolutely but these shares of national product declined somewhat. Reliable data on savings are unavailable but one confidential source estimated that voluntary personal savings amounted to 1 2 billion Turkish Lira in 1955 against investments of almost 3 2 billion of Turkish Lira

To recapitulate, this impressive investment effort has been financed by the creation of internal and external debt, through foreign aid, through the exhausting of foreign exchange and gold reserves, and to some extent through forced savings Official data indicate that total domestic and foreign debts which operated through the budget increased only slightly from 1950 to 1955 while the debt, operating through annexed budgets and state economic enter-

18. *Ibid.*, p 5

19 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Economic Developments in the Middle East*, 1956-1957, p 99

20 Finance Minister, Republic of Turkey, *Budget Speech to Grand National Assembly Budget Committee*, March 1957 1958 figures from Turkiye Is Bankasi, *Review of Economic Conditions*, November-December, 1958 Proposed investment expenditures in the 1959 budget were 2011 million Lira, or 32 19 per cent of the budget

21 United Nations, *op cit*

22 U S Operations Mission to Turkey, *Turkish Economic Statistics*, p 5

prises, rose from 716.8 million to 1,574.3 million of Turkish Lira, or by 120 per cent from 1950 to 1956.[23] These data significantly understate the extent of expansionary financing, however, since the substantial debt of the Office of Soil Products, which directs the farm subsidy program, is not included and because large sums have been obtained from state pension and amortization funds which presumably are not included in the government figures. The development program to a considerable degree explains the fact that the budget has been unbalanced for several years. Some indication of the degree to which heavy investment expenditures and these methods of financing them have caused inflationary pressure is shown by the rise in the index of total utilized resources in current prices of 43 per cent from 1953 to 1956 while the index of total available resources in constant prices rose by 10 per cent.[24]

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Looking at the period from 1948 through 1958 in retrospect, a number of facets of the Turkish economic development program stand out as being significant. This was a vigorous and ambitious effort to lift the economy from its comparatively static condition of inadequate income to a higher level of activity characterized by rising standards of living, a greater degree of industrial self-sufficiency, and general economic viability. Stressing social overhead facilities, expansion in agricultural production, and increased output of necessary producer goods, substantial gains in income and productivity have resulted.

Overwhelming pressures were placed on available resources, however, through an overly ambitious volume of investment outlays coupled with substantial increases in both public and personal consumption expenditures. At the same time a substantial volume of defense expenditures was maintained. With a rate of savings quite inadequate to sustain the investment program, the development effort was fed by borrowing and by inflationary credit expansion. The import needs for investment purposes were provided by external borrowing, supplier credits, economic aid, and by exports, which increased until 1954. Inflationary pressures developed rapidly after 1953, creating a further imbalance between external and internal prices, which made exportable products, many of which were already not competitively priced, difficult to move. At the same time foreign exchange and gold reserves were exhausted and it became difficult to obtain new foreign credits or loans because of Turkey's extended position and economic instability. As a result, it was necessary to cut back on imports of consumer goods if the inward flow of investment goods was to be continued, which tended to extend the pressures of excess demand. Raw material and spare parts imports were also restricted, which created serious shortages and bottlenecks in the production system, and further

23 Finance Minister, *op. cit.*
24 United Nations, *op cit.*

fed the fires of inflation Some attempt was made to end this vicious circle of economic disorder by a partial stabilization program in 1956. In the absence of a planned and systematic effort to cut back on the major source of inflation, an unrealistically ambitious investment effort without adequate control of consumption, the incomplete stabilization program achieved only temporary and limited success

The overall picture which emerges, therefore, is one of an uncoordinated but determined and aggressive economic development effort which, because it was unplanned and over ambitious, created difficulties which caused growth at a slower than possible rate. Many tangible gains were made and valuable lessons were learned about the process of development. Social overhead facilities have been built, agriculture has been stirred from its time-worn methods, and managerial experience in industry, mining and transportation has been provided The heavy burden of debt must be worked off, inflationary pressures must be controlled, and an effective coordinating mechanism created before the economy can move forward again at a sustainable pace [25]

In a broader context, the recent economic history of Turkey provides a valuable case-study in the process of economic development The essentiality of viewing economic growth as a continuous process, which feeds upon itself, and not as a venture which has a precise beginning and ending is reinforced.[26] Goals and objectives must be articulated in specific terms over a longer-run period, with particular projects fitting into the program, but with continual reassessment and adequate flexibility. It follows that some sort of coordinating organization is an absolute imperative, whether development is carried on primarily by public or private enterprise, for the scarcity of resources during an active investment period is similar to that experienced by nations during a war, and resources must be rationed to attain economically sound and socially desirable objectives In the same sense, the Turkish case tends to reaffirm the desirability of utilizing the price mechanism in the allocation of resources between the public and private sectors and within the structure of state economic enterprises Appropriate priorities for resource allocation are essential, consumption requirements must be controlled, and available fiscal and monetary measures utilized if development with reasonable stability is to be achieved.

If sound concepts of growth are to be followed and the economic experiences of others are to be exploited in promoting economic expansion in under-

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25 A broad stabilization program was adopted by the Government of Turkey in August, 1958 to arrest inflationary pressures, to improve its balance of payment position and to prepare for further development. The International Monetary Fund, OEEC, EPU, and the United States Government are cooperating in this effort

26 This view had not been accepted by official circles in Turkey, except perhaps more recently In his 1957 message to the GNA Budget Committee the Finance Minister stated "Once our development is completed—and it shall be in the near future—these temporary difficulties (Balance of Payments deficits, commodity shortages, speculative price increases) will automatically be eradicated '

developed countries, the question is not whether planning and control systems should be created but rather what kind of plans should be made and how they should be applied In countries with low rates of saving, development expenditures in long payoff, social overhead and heavy industry projects inexorably create pressures of excess demand which must be controlled if economic chaos and retardation of growth are to be avoided. Whether balanced growth of all sectors be the avowed development goal or not, it is essential that balance be a major factor in planning if scarce resources are not to be wasted or misallocated. A factory, *per se*, is not useful unless it can produce, and production requires raw materials and spare parts in being, and not in the distant future.

The proper relationship in growth between the public and private sectors is difficult to attain whatever the state of development, but, in any event, if growth is to be sustained private enterprise which promotes overall objectives should not be repressed by being denied necessary resources. In industrial sectors, for example, where private enterprise is making headway, it is more appropriate to allocate essential raw materials and spare parts to existing firms than to construct new publicly operated plants and then allocate raw materials to them. Public enterprises often tend to build without adequate consideration to comparative costing, to select locations without adequate consideration to economic factors, and to build expensive welfare facilities. In any event, it seems more appropriate for public resources to be applied in longer-run projects which might be unattractive for private concerns. In essence, every incentive should be provided for private initiative to display its wares, providing socially useful objectives are served.

In the agricultural sector, it is questionable whether extensive mechanization with equipment using fuels which require foreign exchange should be an objective in the face of disguised unemployment and low labor costs on the farm A stronger case can be made for using indigenous facilities to produce simple metal implements which, when combined with extension-type training activities, can be extremely effective in raising agricultural productivity At a later stage of development, with farmers oriented in the use of more modern methods, and perhaps with greater availability of foreign exchange, an extensive mechanization program might pay rich dividends.

The Turkish development story provides some insight into the "Theory of the Big Push" or the concept of some minimum amount of investment which sets the economy on the development path in a self-sustaining manner by stimulating further investment [27] There is considerable question whether Turkey's rate of growth has been substantial and consistent enough to gather

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27 Nurkse, *op. cit.* See also Department of State, *The Mutual Security Program, Fiscal Year 1958, A Summary Presentation*, June, 1957, p 54.

enough momentum to move ahead on its own. Impressive advances have been made in creating a complex of social overhead facilities and capacity in heavy industry, but the private and foreign investment which could be expected to follow have been inhibited by economic instability and plagued by material shortages and the lack of foreign exchange. It is likely, however, that if the economic milieu is improved, the capital facilities in being will help provide the lift needed to stimulate further investment in the direction of self sustained growth

The experience of Turkey in the past ten years provides valuable lessons to guide future economic development not only for that country but for others striving to maximize their potentials If these lessons are properly applied, in the context of Turkey's extensive physical and personnel resources and the will and aggressiveness so essential to development, there is little doubt that the future growth prospects for this nation will be promising.

REFLECTIONS ON ISRAEL'S FOURTH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Don Peretz

Although none of the two dozen political parties which contested Israel's November 3, 1959, national elections won a majority, the balloting was a clear personal victory for Prime Minister David Ben Gurion, leader of the Mapai moderate socialists. Even if his party did not win the parliamentary majority he sought, it won a larger per cent of the vote and more Knesset seats than have been obtained by any group in the nation's eleven years of independence. By capturing more than 38.5 per cent of the votes, Mapai was able to increase its representation from 40 to 47 of the 120 members of parliament. This occurred in the face of dire prognostications by most pre-election pundits that the party would at best be able to hold its own if it did not lose a seat or two.

The Oriental Problem

A principal reason for the pessimism about Mapai's future was the emergence of a dozen new parties in the months before the election, indicating currents of electoral discontent beneath the surface of political life. Most of these new groups were devoted to furthering the interests of recent immigrants, and at least five, to the problems of the so-called Oriental Jews, that is those from Arab and other Muslim countries. Formation of new groups—like the North African Union, the National Sephardi Party and Oriental Communities, the Yemenite Faction, and in Tel-Aviv (for the local election), the Slum Dwellers—against a background of riots by Oriental Jews in various parts of the country protesting against discrimination, caused concern among the parties already represented in the Knesset. So impressed were the country's political leaders by these events that several of the older parties hastened to include among their candidates who would be sure of election at least one Sephardi or Oriental Jew. The conservative General Zionists representing the middle class business and commercial element included among its "sure" candidates the 23-year old son of the Sephardi Chief Rabbi, though he had never been directly involved in General Zionist or other politics.

Since the state was established in 1948 the Oriental Jewish community

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had grown from about 70,000 or eleven per cent of the population to nearly half the total number of Jews. During the last large immigration wave in 1954-58 Oriental Jews from Asia and Africa numbered some 122,000 out of a total of 189,000. Of these, over 100,000 were from North Africa. Although few Orientals were in the upper echelons of government or among the members of parliament, they were becoming an assertive political force.

Communal sentiments were galvanized by strong feelings of deliberate discrimination among large numbers of Oriental Jews. They were clearly articulated by the new communal parties as well as by politicians among the established political groups who were seeking Oriental votes. The small per cent of Orientals in responsible government posts and the relatively large number living in slum areas, while material conditions were substantially improving for the "Ashkenazi", or Western Jews, became subjects of invidious political comment A recent survey by the Ministry of Labor's housing Section showed that 87 per cent of the *ma'abarot* (temporary transition camps) dwellers were Oriental immigrants More than half the camp occupants were unemployed or had only part time relief work Oriental Jews were found to be at the bottom of the wage scale, constituting about 90 per cent of those seeking relief labor and 77 per cent of the hired agricultural hands whose wages are among the lowest

A Bank of Israel survey of family savings in 1957-58 showed that the average yearly income of veteran Western inhabitants was IL 3,716 while Jews of Asian and African origin earned during the same period an average of IL 2,746 Westerners who immigrated between 1948 and 1954 earned on the average IL 2,914 while Orientals who came during that era earned only IL 2,088 More recent Western immigrants were earning IL 1,707 while the Oriental average was IL 1,418.

The failure of any nationally prominent leadership to emerge from the Oriental Community may be reflected in the fact that in 1957 Israel's two leading institutions of higher education produced a minute number of Oriental graduates Only six of the 436 students at the Haifa Technion and five per cent of the Hebrew University students represented the Oriental Jewish Communities.

Although the picture indicated by these statistics is, to the majority of Oriental Jews, one of conscious discrimination, such is not actually a policy of the Israel government. They indicate rather the objective fact of a wide cultural gap between the Jewish communities from underdeveloped nations and those from the West. Jewish immigrants from the nations of Asia and Africa reflect in large measure the educational, health, social and cultural levels prevailing in their places of origin. The percentage of Jewish university graduates from Morocco or Tunisia is not much different than the national average in those nations.

The sudden influx of large numbers of individuals with little if any technical training and skills, or knowledge of the processes of modern government, administration, and bureaucracy; with Oriental cultural inhibitions against participation in Western community life, has made their integration into Israel extremely difficult.

Often "Ashkenazi" impatience with the Oriental tempo and way of life has created bitter inter-communal frictions and exacerbated the existing feelings of inferiority which prevail among the Asians and Africans who suddenly find themselves transplanted to a strange new world.

Various government experiments in integrating the Orientals have been undertaken. At first there was faith in the "pressure cooker" method of rapid and massive integration aimed at breaking down the Middle Eastern and Asian cultural patterns and replacing them with those of the West However, government anthropologists advised against such an approach, warning that often Orientals could not rapidly enough absorb the new Western ways after those of the East had been "cooked" out of them. Too often the result would be a cultural and emotional vacuum producing demoralization and degeneration into the vices of the West without any awareness of the responsibilities and capabilities for personal development possible in the new way of life.

A government appointed Committee of Inquiry established last summer to investigate the cause of the North African riots determined that there was no official discrimination, although it acknowledged that "among large sections of the North African community there exists a deep feeling of inequality and discrimination." The Committee recommended "the creation of a coordinating authority or of a widely-based public body composed of persons with theoretical or practical experience, which would have one task: to investigate and advise on methods of merging the immigrants from various countries and of making the process speedier and more efficient."

Despite the growing concern about the "Oriental problem", none of the newly formed parties dedicated to the immigrant cause succeeded in electing a candidate to the Fourth Kenesset. Only the twelve parties with representatives in the previous parliament scored enough votes for membership. The dozen new groups captured less than four per cent of the total vote. Even the North African Union headed by David Ben Haroush, the 35-year old former Casablanca policeman who led the Haifa riots could not exploit his notoriety. (At election time he was serving a two year prison sentence for firing on a policeman, and other crimes) At the site of the major incident, in Haifa's Wadi Salib Oriental slum, Ben Haroush won less than a hundred votes. His party obtained less than 7,000 votes nationally, although it was less unsuccessful than other new groups.

It is difficult to attribute lack of communal feelings to the failures of the new parties. Most were organized only a few months before the campaign

began and few had any organization or party structure. None could produce any nationally known figure to compete with individuals like the Prime Minister, former Chief of Staff Moshe Dayan, or Herut leader Menachem Beigin, among the more colorful of the known party candidates. Even if they had had the know how and the inclination to build a party machine, none of the new parties had the financial resources for such a venture Mapai is reported to have spent between 20 and 30 million pounds on the election; Herut, the second largest party, about five million, and other parties which receive funds from the United Jewish Appeal, between one and three million each. With its well known faces—both old and new—and such massive financial resources at its disposal Mapai was able to hold about 7,000 large and 30,000 smaller meetings and to publish millions of election leaflets, posters, and pamphlets.

Furthermore, the spate of election issues which had characterized earlier campaigns was absent in 1959 The country was going through an era of unprecedented prosperity as indicated by newspapers crowded with advertisements for automobiles, tape recorders, washing machines, and refrigerators. Rationing of nearly all items had ended earlier in the year. Although imports were still nearly three times as great as exports there had been a substantial improvement since 1949 when the ratio was nearly nine to one. Foreign policy and national security were no longer issues directly affecting the lives of most Israelis There was discussion at the United Nations about passage of Israeli cargo through the Suez Canal, but there had been no border incidents or instances of infiltration such as had plagued the lives of frontier settlers in previous elections The only new issue and the one which had been most underscored in the 1959 campaign was the problem of Oriental Jews

But perhaps more important than all was the personality of Prime Minister Ben Gurion An observation not yet statistically recorded is that thousands of Israelis vote Mapai because they are backing "B. G." or "the Old Man" as his admirers affectionately refer to him. I have known many Israelis who disapprove of Mapai, the party, but cast their ballot for its list because it is headed by Ben Gurion. No other figure so symbolizes to Israelis "what we are" and "what we ought to be "

The Prime Minister appeals especially to the Oriental immigrant. In voting they often follow the same cultural patterns as the populations in their countries of origin, and they are subject to similar types of election appeals. During the campaign Mapai did not hesitate to underscore the personality of the "Old Man" and to emphasize his desire for a Mapai victory. To many a new immigrant "B. G " fulfills the role of tribal leader and father image. He is a patriarch, a fearless military commander, and he represents the "mystique" of Israel.

Menachem Beigin unsuccessfully attempted to throw the mantle of "proph-

et to the disaffected" over his own shoulders but Herut did no more than increase its Knesset representation from 15 to 17. No other political figure could compete with "B. G." outside or within the growing Oriental community.

The Arab Vote

Although Israel's Arab minority constitutes less than 10 per cent of the national electorate its voting trends are significant for a number of reasons. Most important is the extent to which five Mapai-backed Arab Knesset members may affect the parliamentary balance of power. With their support, Mapai is only nine votes short of absolute majority. During the first three parliaments Mapai often counted on their votes, although Arab support was not demanded on many issues of fundamental concern to their community such as continuation of military government and absentee Arab refugee property legislation. In the Fourth Knesset the continued alliance of Mapai Arabs is assured since one of their five candidates was elected only by borrowing "extra" votes from the Prime Minister's party.

Of the more than 76,000 Arab votes cast last November 3, over 51 per cent were for Mapai supported candidates. Of these approximately 3,000 were for Mapai itself; the others were divided as follows: Progress and Development—12,347; Cooperation and Brotherhood—11,104; and Agriculture and Progress—10,902. There was a decline of nearly 12 per cent in Arab support for Mapai during the past four years. (About 63 per cent of the Arab vote was for Mapai in the 1955 national elections.)

A question more fundamental than why Arab support for Mapai declined is why such a large number voted for the party in the first place. After all, Mapai and its leaders are chiefly responsible for most complaints which the minority has against the government like continuation of military government and requisition of Arab property. Israeli Arab voting patterns, like those of the Oriental Jewish communities, are more often determined by communal social structure than by specific political issues.

This is most clearly evident in the case of the three Arab parties affiliated with the Mapai socialists. Four of their five candidates elected to the Fourth Knesset are endowed with the traditional qualifications for high office in the Middle East; they are large landowners or the sons of officials who have held prominent positions in the community for several generations. Although there is no constituency system of national elections in Israel, the candidates of the three Mapai Arab parties are distributed on a regional and a communal basis. The Agriculture and Progress list represents the "Little Triangle" (two Muslim areas acquired from Jordan as a result of the 1949 Rhodes armistice) and part of Galilee; Cooperation and Brotherhood, parts of Druze communities near Haifa and some Druze and Muslim communities in Galilee; Progress and

Development, the Muslims and Greek Catholics in and around Nazareth.

Mahmud al-Nashif, representative of the Agriculture and Development Party, is a farmer-merchant who was convinced by Mapai to resign from Ahdut Avoda's Arab Party "Leadership in an Arab village", writes the pro Mapai *Jerusalem Post,* "goes traditionally to the family with the most land, and the Nashifs are very much respected in their village south of Tukkarem. The father of the new Knesset member, who represented the district before the Turkish governor, was a landlord and merchant with strong commercial ties with Syria"

The Druze leader of the Cooperation and Brotherhood list, Labib Abu Rukun, is the son of a former village *mukhtar* (headman) under both Ottomans and British Mapai is indebted to him for help during the British mandate, especially when he hid Haifa's Mapai Mayor, Abba Koushy His Muslim counterpart, Yussuf al-'Abid Diab is also the son of a *mukhtar* who was murdered in the 1936-39 Arab uprising against the British.

Progress and Development is headed by a Nazareth Muslim, Ahmad Kamal al Dahir, whose ancestors seized control of Galilee in the eighteenth century Ever since the al-Dahirs have been among the most influential and wealthy Muslim families in the region. Apparently the only self-made man among the five Mapai Arabs is Elias Nakhlah of Progress and Development, a Greek Roman Catholic who served twenty years in the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force from which he was discharged a Captain Elias Nakhlah also had the distinction of personal backing from Greek Catholic Archbishop George Hakim, a long time critic of Israel's minority policies

Appropriate regional and religious distribution, and support of weighty community members are not the only advantages of the Mapai Arab parties. They are backed by the Prime Minister himself, and by his representative, one or another of the military governors in the various districts where most Arab voters are concentrated Since the military governor is even more powerful than the large landowner, the *mukhtar*, or the local priest, his advice on political matters is often followed. After all, it is he who grants or withholds the military permit required to travel outside the area, he has an important say in allocation of government subsidies and distribution of work, and he has great influence with the custodian of absentee property and those who arrange compensation for confiscated land In the last election there was only one overt incident of military influence in the elections which was brought to public attention An inquiry arranged through the Central Elections Committee found that a military government officer had threatened one candidate on a dissident Mapai Arab list with banishment from his village if he did not withdraw his candidacy.

Archbishop Hakim is reported to have come over from the opposition because he was convinced that only in a two party system will it be possible to

end the restrictions on Israel's Arabs, and Arab support for Mapai or one of its affiliates will hasten that possibility.

Arab candidates supported by Mapai, Mapam, the Communists, and Ahdut Avoda, were not chosen by the community, but by the respective party leaders. Choice of the Mapai Arabs was assisted by military government authorities and members of notable Arab families who were in the good graces of the military authorities. Two other Arabs were also elected to the fourth Knesset: the Mapam Arab M. K. Yusuf Khamis, was chosen in consultation with Arab members of his party; Arab Communist Tawfiq Tubi is a long time leader of the movement who has been active since mandatory times.

In the last election for the first time there were two independent Arab lists, unaffiliated with any political party. They were Progress and Labor, and the Independent Faction of Israel Arabs, both headed by former Arab Mapai-backed Knesset members. For unexplained reasons they did not receive Mapai support for the Fourth Knesset and decided to run on their own, each forming his own list. Both charged that they had been dropped because of their independence in reaching decisions without referring to Mapai. Former Knesset member Masad Qassis stated that he left the Mapai backed list because of "the desire to be free from the shackles of political bondage." He characterized all other parties as "snatching wolves who offer the Arabs honey-coated promises during the elections." By polling nearly 8,500 votes, the two new independent Arab lists helped to lower the vote favoring Mapai

Another significant trend was the decline in Arab votes for the Communist Party, which since 1948 has been the center of strong anti-Israel and ardent Arab nationalist sentiment. Joining the Communists was the one legal way in which youthful nationalists could publically avow their hatred for the Jewish State. Also many independent minded Arabs who wanted to express their freedom from traditional influences in political life, voted Communist in previous elections. In 1955 the 15 5 per cent of Arab voters who supported the Communists supplied nearly a third of the Israel Party's strength. However attraction to the Communist cause among Israeli Arabs has declined because of 'Abd al-Nasir. His picture can be found in many Israeli Arab homes, and is widely admired by the minority, even by many who frequently disagree with his policies. Nasir's recent rift with the Communists showed in the political thinking of the Israel Arab community. It resulted in a decline of Arab Communist voters to only 11 per cent. Arabs still supply about a third of the total Communist support, but the party fared so badly throughout the country that it lost three of its six Knesset seats.

The Communists were replaced as the strongest political force in the Arab community after Mapai by Mapam, a left wing socialist and neutralist party which has taken a special interest in development of the Arab community. It is the only Zionist party in the Knesset which accepts Arab members on an

equal basis with Jews. Among its Arab members are several who are respected for their leadership in the Arab community.

Nearly all other parties represented in the Knesset, including the National Religious Party (orthodox) and Herut polled over 1,000 Arab votes. Only the Torah Religious Front (ultra-orthodox) received no appreciable number of Arab ballots Considerations such as personal and family ties, and the influence of government officials connected with one or another of these parties account for Arab votes received by advocates of orthodox Jewish religious law (National Religious Party) and Herut, which in the past has been none too friendly to the Arabs.

There is little love lost between the Arab citizens of Israel and Jewish immigrants from Asia and Africa, but they have much in common. Although together they constitute a sizable majority of the country's population, both regard themselves as "second-class" citizens excluded from the seats of power and influence in the national life. Despite efforts by the government to absorb them (although there is still hesitation about the status of Israeli Arabs) they are outside the mainstream of life in contemporary Israel. The cultural patterns and outlooks of Oriental Jewish and Israel Arab communities have much in common as reflected in their balloting and the influences which determined it There is little likelihood of these similarities producing a fusion of interests, primarily because the Oriental Jews are among the most hostile to the Arab minority as a result of experiences suffered in Arab countries from which they came However one conclusion that may be drawn from Arab and Oriental Jewish voting is that Israel, with the trappings and machinery of Western parliamentary institutions, is becoming more of a Middle Eastern state in which the Western institutions serve an Eastern population whose Oriental attitudes and cultural patterns determine the manner in which they use these Western institutions. The degree to which Western attitudes and voting patterns will determine the future depends on the outcome in the race between immigration from the Afro-Asian world and the speed with which Arabs and Oriental Jewish Israelis are integrated into the mainstream of contemporary Israeli life. The Arab and Oriental birthrate is considerably higher than that of the Ashkenazi minority and may also affect the outcome of the race. So far there is little intermarriage between Orientals and Ashkenazi Jews, and only a few isolated instances of Arab and Jewish intermarriage The religious law which governs personal status matters such as marriage and divorce prevents the latter. Although permitted, social custom and communal pride and prejudices are barriers to more extensive intermarriage between Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews (most of whom are Sephardi) The social barriers are more readily overcome, and it is possible that future trends in intermarriage may hasten a fusion of the Western and Oriental Jewish communities thereby facilitating the more rapid integration of the two groups.

Government by Compromise and Ben Gurion

Since the combination of Mapai and Mapai-backed Arab Knesset members will leave the next Ben Gurion government coalition only nine votes short of a parliamentary majority, national policy will no doubt continue to be determined chiefly by the desires of the Prime Minister. A coalition will require some compromise with whatever parties are chosen to form a new government, but "B. G" so dominates Mapai policy, and Mapai will so dominate the government during the next four years, that there is little likelihood of any serious challenge to block policy or programs formulated by Ben Gurion. In effect this means continuation of the one party government which (with some compromises) has determined Israel's policy since 1948. Existing government policy on almost every matter of importance is either to his liking, or the compromises effected are acceptable to the Prime Minister and his party

Whether a coalition is formed with parties either to the right or the left of Mapai, the present semi-socialist mixed economy will prevail. In the past the combination of Mapam and Ahdut Avoda was a continued pressure for more radical economic policies—higher income taxes in upper brackets, more rigid control of luxury imports, steeper inheritance imposts, and the like Although Mapam retained its nine Knesset seats, its former partner, Ahdut Avoda lost three out of 10 This in addition to the loss of half the Communist seats meant a sharp decline in leftist strength, and in the possibility of an intensified program of socialization. On the other hand, the loss of five out of 13 seats by the strongly pro-free enterprise General Zionists will prevent any diminuation in the power of the General Federation of Labor (Histadrut). The present division of economic power between the Histadrut, small to medium-large private enterprise, the government and the Jewish Agency will continue to determine economic policy

As a socialist, Ben Gurion has been a critic of religious control of personal status matters, but he has never been an ardent opponent of the system, and he has pulled his party along with him on compromises with the religious parties to avoid a religious civil war. Frequently he has found compromise on such matters less distasteful than the sharp break which might result with the religious minority if the ardent secularists were to have their way. Furthermore, such a policy has been politically expedient on several occasions when support of the religious parties was desired in a coalition government.

Because the religious parties not only held their own, but gained slightly in the elections, compromise with their leaders will no doubt continue and the rabbinical influence in political life and on national legislation will be maintained. The combined parliamentary votes of the National Religious Party (which increased its Knesset representation from 11 to 12) and the Torah Religious Front will number 18. Since in most other major matters such

as foreign and economic policy the religious groups generally back Mapai, there will be little political practicability in alienating them by stirring their ire on questions which are not of primary concern to the Prime Minister. This means that control of personal status by the orthodox Jewish, Muslim, and Christian clergy will continue, and rabbinical proscriptions on matters like import of non-kosher meat, pig raising in Jewish areas, and the ban on sabbath public transport in most regions will be preserved.

Decline of the left ensures Ben Gurion continued control of Israel's foreign and security policies. He has avowed that he would never enter a coalition with Herut, the second largest party, therefore its increase of two Knesset seats adds little to its already relatively small voice in government Only Mapam and Ahdut Avoda have in the past exerted modifying influences on foreign policy, as other possible coalition partners generally were in sympathy with Mapai's program Cabinet criticism of close ties with the West, especially of the semi-alliance with "colonialist" France, will no longer check the Prime Minister's ambition to strengthen such relations. Insistence on the status quo as a basis for any settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute will continue and no major concessions can be expected on the Arab refugee problem. Within the past few years there has been some modification of internal security controls on the Arab minority, due in part to pressures from the left parties within the coalition Other parties have also called for abolition of military government, but they have not insisted that this was a matter of major importance The loss of leftist bargaining power means that questions of internal security *vis-à-vis* the Arab minority are not likely to be major political issues during the next four years

There is no quarrel about basic Zionist ideology among Israel's principal parties. With minor variations on questions of policy implementation, all agree on "ingathering the exiles" and on Israel's relationships with other Jewish communities This common agreement has practical as well as ideological benefits, for all Knesset parties except those of the Arabs and the Communists receive funds from the United Jewish Appeal and other Jewish funds in the diaspora to aid in "ingathering," local development work, and settlement of new immigrants To further their aims and assist in collection of monies from abroad, each Zionist party has its counter-part in nations like the United States and Great Britain Foreign funds are generally allocated on the basis of party strength and influence abroad In all, about eight per cent of U. J. A. funds are believed to be set aside for the Israel parties.

Prior to the recent election campaign four groups were formed to contest Zionist ideology, the use of U. J. A. funds for political purposes, and the relationships with world Jewries, but only two entered the electoral race: the Third Force, a Trotskyite splinter which received fewer than 600 votes; and the Bund Socialists, a ramnant of the once powerful anti-Zionist Jewish Socialist Bund

which received about 1,300 votes.

Since there is not, nor has there to date been any serious quarrel with the Zionist ideology, which after all is the basis on which the state was established, the program of "ingathering" and reliance on foreign (principally American) support for immigration and settlement of new immigrants will continue to be a fundamental of government policy.

The mystique of Israel's destiny and the fate of world Jewry, indefinable and vague as they are, are also bases of common agreement among the principal parties which have been most dramatically articulated by Prime Minister Ben Gurion. This is the one area where a wide chasm separates Israel from its ardent supporters in countries like the United States.

Of course, Israel's fate, like that of other small nations in such strategically sensitive and volatile regions of the world, will be influenced, if not determined, by great power relationships. However, only if there is some unforseen external influence which develops into a prominent factor in the nation's internal politics, is there likely to be any drastic policy change before the next Knesset elections in 1963. Until then only on the issue of electoral reform is Ben Gurion likely to meet serious obstacles.

Electoral Reform

In the last election Mapai pushed the issue of electoral reform to the foreground of public debate with appeals for replacement of the existing system by constituency elections which would facilitate the development of a two-party system. The present multi-party setup based on a single nation-wide constituency electing representatives to parliament on the basis of proportional representation was inherited from the World Zionist Congress. That body represented Zionist groups and federations from many different nations with a variety of backgrounds and outlooks. When the Jewish State was established, it inherited these backgrounds and outlooks along with the political system which would preserve them. In contemporary Israel this system guarantees a seat in parliament to any party list which can obtain one per cent of the valid votes cast in the national election. The result is representation in the Knesset by a wide variety of opinions and points of view necessitating government by coalition.

Ben Gurion has characterized the present electoral system as "both harmful and dangerous to the nation and . . . a brake on the integration of the immigrants from the various Diasporas and on the civic education of the people. This system," he insists, "encourages irresponsibility and demagogy, which is more dangerous in Israel than in other countries."

Taking the lead on the issue within Mapai, Ben Gurion has attempted to gain wide public support for his point of view. An impressive list of private

citizens including leading scientists, scholars, and soldiers recently supported a non-partisan appeal favoring the change. The only other political party which has favored some modification in that direction has been the General Zionists, but since they lost so heavily in the recent elections there is some doubt about their continued willingness to alter the proportional representation system Acceptance of such a change would mean an end to most of the existing political parties and the financial patronage they receive through the U J A and the Jewish Agency There is also some question about whether or not Israel is sociologically ready for such a change in view of the continued existence of diverse economic, political, social, and religious points of view.

The last election indicated that the diversity was not as great as many anticipated There seemed to be overwhelming support for parties agreeing on the major domestic, foreign policy, and ideological issues as indicated by decline on the left and failure of communal and non-Zionist groups to score. The four chief trends which seemed to emerge were a strong middle of the road socialist group, a somewhat less strong group favoring a free economy represented by Herut, General Zionists, some Progressives and religious party members, a core of Jews who believe that the state should be guided by orthodox religious precepts, many of whom regard themselves as religious socialists; and a contracting left wing socialist movement, neutralist in foreign policy outlook and somewhat more ardent than Mapai in application of doctrinaire socialist ideology

After the election Ben Gurion invited a number of leaders from several of these groups to help in the reformation of the political system. He called upon the leaders of Adut Avoda, some of the more socialist minded members of the Nationalist Religious Party, and the left wing of the Progressive to join Mapai

This constituency system envisaged by Ben Gurion would resemble that in Great Britain where every candidate contends for the majority in his district Since his appeal must be to the majority rather than to any special group, this considerably decreases the possibility existing under the present system "in which every individual or minuscule group which has some unorthodox idea or other can succeed in rallying a minimum number of voters to its support from all parts of the country, despite the fact that this idea has no relation whatsoever to political reality." It would eliminate the possibility of forming communal lists and "aid in the integration of immigrants and in the destruction of the barriers which have arisen between the various communities."

By obviating the necessity of appeals to particularist interests, electoral campaigns could concentrate on "two or three" central issues "and nearly every voter will be able to clarify them for himself. . . ."

Obviously Mapai would emerge as the dominant party in such a system and the Prime Minister would be free to govern without inter-party consultations,

collaboration, and compromises. In Ben Gurion's view: "A free and democratic state needs only two parties: the majority party which sets up the government; and a second large party, which is not much smaller than the government party—and which can provide an alternative to the party in power." This system would increase national unity and educate the public to political compromise, ending the dogmatic factionalism now existing in Israel, he asserts.

Uninterrupted Mapai control of government does not worry Ben Gurion. "Only the dolt or the demagogue can say," he believes "that changing the government is of the essence of democracy," and points to the more than twenty years of Democratic government in the United States.

Despite the ardor with which the Prime Minister urges a new electoral system there is little likelihood of its adoption in the next four years for the reasons enumerated above But in view of the present position of Mapai the Prime Minister will not necessarily need a two-party system to benefit from one-party control of the government The danger is in the future after Ben Gurion is no longer active in politics. While he remains at the helm of Mapai, its success is assured and government, the Jewish Agency, labor unions, fund-raising organizations, public services and utilities, organs of public administration, and the other apparatus of public life in Israel will remain predominantly under its control. After the demise of Ben Gurion, the political future of Israel is uncertain, especially so under the existing system of proportional representation. Today Prime Minister Ben Gurion, like Nehru in India or De Gaulle in France, is the king-pin of the political system. Once removed, the whole structure will be transformed in a fashion which is difficult to predict because of the great number of variables. Perhaps Ben Gurion's departure from Israeli political life will see the emergence of the nation's Middle Eastern character. In any event, Israel's political future without Ben Gurion is as uncertain as that of India without Nehru, or of France without General De Gaulle. Perhaps it is this uncertainty which is the motivation behind Ben Gurion's urgent desire to see a two party system established in the near future.

STATE OF ISRAEL—GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE FIRST, SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH KNESSETS [1]

	Votes 1st	Votes 2nd	Votes 3rd	Votes 4th	Percentages 1st	Percentages 2nd	Percentages 3rd	Percentages 4th	Seats 1st	Seats 2nd	Seats 3rd	Seats 4th
Eligible Voters	506,5[illegible]	924,885	1,057,795	1,218,724								
Votes Cast	440,095	695,007	876,085	994,306	86.9	75.4	82.8	81.6	120	120	120	120
Valid Votes	434,684	687,492	853,219	969,337								
Mapai (Israel Labour Party)	155,274	256,456	274,935	370,585	35.7	37.3	32.2	38.2	46	45	40	47
Herut (*Freedom*) Movement	49,782	45,651	107,190	130,515	11.5	6.6	12.6	13.5	14	8	15	17
National Religious Party (*Mizrahi & Hapoel Hamiz*)	52,982 [2]	56,730	77,936	95,581	12.2 [2]	8.3	9.1	9.9	16 [2]	10 [6]	11	12
Torah Religious Front (*Agudat Israel & Poalei Agudat Israel*)		24,993	39,836	45,569		3.6	4.7	4.7		5 [7]	6	6
Mapam (United Workers' Party)	64,018 [3]	86,095 [3]	62,401	69,468	14.7 [3]	12.5 [3]	7.3	7.2	19 [3]	15 [3]	10	7
Achdut Ha'avoda—Poalei Zion (Unity of Labour)			69,475	58,043			8.2	6.0				
General Zionist Party	22,661	111,394	87,099	59,700	5.2	16.2	10.2	6.1	7	20	13	8
Progressive Party	17,786	22,171	37,661	44,889	4.1	3.2	4.4	4.6	5	4	5	6
Communist Party	15,148	27,334	38,492	27,374	3.5	4.0	4.5	2.8	4	5	6	3
Arab parties associated with Mapai	7,387	32,288	37,777	34,353	1.7	4.7	4.4	3.6	2	5	5	5
Other parties	49,646 [4]	24,380 [5]	20,617	33,260	11.4 [4]	3.6 [5]	2.4	3.4	7 [4]	3 [5]	—	—

NOTES

[1] *Dates of elections.* 1st Knesset—25.1.49, 2nd Knesset—30.7.51, 3rd Knesset—26.7.55, 4th Knesset—3.11.59

[2] In the First Knesset, Hapoel Hamizrahi and Mizrahi (now combined in the National Religious Party), together with Agudat Israel and Poalei Agudat Israel, appeared as the United Religious Front

[3] In the First and Second Knessets, Mapam and Achdut Ha'avoda formed one party, named Mapam

[4] Other parties in 1st Knesset Sephardim (4), Fighters (1), Yemenites (1), WIZO (1)

[5] Other parties in 2nd Knesset Sephardim (2) and Yemenites (1). After the election they joined with the General Zionists

[6] Hapoel Hamizrahi—8 seats, Mizrahi—2 seats

[7] Agudat Israel—3 seats, Poalei Agudat Israel—2 seats

SOCIAL THEMES IN CONTEMPORARY TURKISH LITERATURE

PART I

Kemal H. Karpat

CONTEMPORARY Turkish literature is inherently associated with the country's drive for modernization and Westernization, and serves as the means to root and generalize modern reforms. This literature appears committed to progress and transformation and seeks its inspiration in modern reforms on firm grounds. A close concern with the fate of society has become the outstanding feature of Turkish literature since the middle of the past century, that is, since the reform movement moved into cultural fields and a larger number of intellectuals became exposed to Western ideas. The greatest literary names during this period drew their reputations more from political and social views connected with the fate of society than from the actual literary value of their words For instance, the poems and plays of Namık Kemal, Zıya Paşa, and Abdulhak Hamıt were a direct product of this modernization, either in criticism of it or in demand for broader adjustment to the new socio-political concepts which came along with the administrative and political institutions borrowed from the West. Zıya Gokalp, the formulator of Turkish nationalism and of the ideas of modernization subsequently accepted in the Republic, expressed his views first in the form of poems and advocated the use of literature to spread the ideas of nationalism and bring about society's modernization. Tevfik Fıkret, Mehmet Akıf and Mehmet Emin, notwithstanding their conflicting views, were poets interested more in social and political ideas than in cultivation of the poetic art. Political topics, which seemed to be the main source of inspiration for literature until about the mid-forties, have been gradually replaced by social topics. Acccelerated economic development, and the emergence of the new groups of intellectuals of peasant and lower middle class origin, have necessitated a reinterpretation and adjustment of social values according to the new social dimension acquired by modernization in Turkey. Moreover, since the Second World War, the establishment of several political parties and the relative freedom

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which this process entailed, have cast a more democratic and liberal spirit upon society, have further stimulated the discussion of social issues, and have also brought about an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and understanding.

The emergence of the social problem in literature and the democratic spirit dominating it are in fact healthy symptoms of the evolution which has taken place in society itself. It means that political and cultural reforms have struck roots deep enough to cause a demand for the broadening and consolidating of these reforms through social measures. It means also that Turkey is facing the problem of transforming ideas generated by the recent socio-economic development into a stable ideology These, in fact, are problems of adjustment similar to those faced by Western Europe at various stages in its recent history

Contemporary literature provides valuable insights into the nature of the social problem and its special features in Turkey. The material-economic causes of the social problem are stressed, and great importance is attached to education as a means of bringing about integrated social development Education, with stress on intellect and analysis, is looked upon as the sole means of defeating obscurantism and fatalism, the two pillars which hold up the old order, create duality in society, and prevent its tradition to modern forms Insofar as present day literature may be said to possess an "ideology," this is it.

Yet, the present socio-democratic stage reached by modernization in Turkey has created a contradictory situation in which the modernist minded and anti-traditionalist intellectuals' demand for total modernization in living and thinking can be effectively opposed by the bulk of society, which is willing to accept only the material aspects of modernization, but rejects the ethical and cultural aspects which it finds contradictory to its own Islamic traditionalist values. Thus, the total modernization advocated by intellectuals cannot quickly come into being without the use of force which would destroy whatever political democracy has been established in the past fifteen years, and has been advocated by intellectuals themselves On the other hand, modernization, if carried out in the popular empiricist terms of the majority, would be limited in scope and might be a short duration without some non-material sustaining bases

The widening cultural gap between the two groups can be closed only by finding a third and new understanding of modernization acceptable to both groups, inducing them to work towards common goals. The spirit of this new understanding of modernization can be found in literary works

Literature strives to bring together the two groups: first, by departing from the doctrinaire and dogmatic interpretation of forceful modernization as practiced in the early days of the Republic, and yet remaining faithful to the basic spirit of modernization; second, by interpreting Western concepts

according to the society's own cultural values and accepting them in accordance with the society's own methods. In so doing, contemporary social literature places itself in the role of spokesman for the entire society and looks upon all individuals, intellectual and layman alike, as responsible for the good of that society if only for the reason of having been born in it. The prime responsibility is placed upon the intellectual, who should provide enlightened leadership with due consideration to the actual needs of society and respect for its ways of life The average citizen is urged to make the effort to understand a changing world and adjust to it according to the enlightened advice of intellectual leaders A strong social solidarity between all individuals is taken for granted and any attempt to weaken it is decried. The village and the villager, new topics in literature, as well as the poor city people, are looked upon in the spirit of group solidarity and considered worthy of assistance on the part of the well-to-do and intellectuals. Assistance on their part, in fact, is an obligation This clearly indicates that contemporary Turkish literature has preserved the Islamic concepts of community and community solidarity and responsibility, but has broadened their meaning and has defined them in modern terms as society and social responsibility.

Permeating this literature is the spirit of Yunus Emre (a mystical folk poet known for his humanism), and his love for the human being and respect of life, which have long lived at the grass roots of the society. They have reached the upper levels of culture only recently, however through representatives coming from among this social layer and expressing the best of its spiritual values. Thus, contemporary Turkish literature has preserved the basic humanistic values of its own society, but has given them universal scope according to the classical spirit of humanism in the West, and has expressed them according to Western technique So it has become more Turkish and more Western at the same time, by placing the Turkish man within the context of one universal concept of mankind and by accepting his free will as the basis of all activities. The day is near when Turkish literature, now a universal-minded literature, will produce works of world renown. The short story has already reached such a high level as to make Halide Edip Adıvar, the well-known woman novelist, rank it with the Russian and American short story *

The present stage of development reached by Turkish literature cannot be understood without knowledge of the various political, social and cultural forces which have conditioned its transformation and made it follow an original course of evolution.

The Ottoman set of values against which the modern transformation of

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* Salahattin Batu's *Guzel Helena* (Beautiful Helen) won the second place at Vienna International Play Competition, and, translated into German as *Helena Bleibt in Troja,* was staged by Vienna Burgtheater at Gregens Festival in 1959

Turkey took place was reflected in, and to some extent, produced by Ottoman literature This was a three-layer literature corresponding in the main to three social groups in the Empire The *Divan* literature of the palace and *Ulema;* the *Tekke* or the mystical religious literature of the derviş orders, and folklore, or the literature of the largest part of the population.[1]

The *Divan* literature was chiefly the product of Arabic and Persian influences. In consequence, following the general ankylosis of thought in the Muslim world and literature, it narrowed its subjects to a few topics, and under the Islamic doctrine of avoiding all allusion to objective reality, it bore a very tenuous relationship to life and nature The *Tekke,* (literally, convent) or mystical religious literature, had originally played a crucial part in spreading and rooting Islam among the Anatolian and Rumelian population in the form of epics which described battles between Christian Byzantines and Muslim Turks as battles for the spread of Islam These epics, such as *Seyyit Battal Gazi, Danişmendame,* and most important of all yet the least known, *Saltukname,*[2] in addition to their religious role, also disseminated a philosophy of life and established a set of heroic values, which continue to exercise profound influence among Anatolian masses[3] (Yunus Emre, the mystic who wrote in pure Turkish, is one of the most outstanding poets of this literature His deep love of the human being as mentioned before, and his tenderness in expressing it, have affected both Turkish folklore and contemporary literature).[4]

After the sixteenth century there was a deterioration in the *Tekke* and *Divan* literatures which mutually affected each other's spirit and form, and in fact they came to be alike Both concentrated on praising wordly pleasures —wine and women, and both constantly stressed the shortness of life and urged all to enjoy it, not through the mind and spirit, but through the body. This literature also preserved some moral precepts originating in the early mystical poems, which is repeated perfunctorily, without genuine belief, merely to preach abnegation and austerity for the lower classes. The *Divan* and *Tekke,* that is, upper class Ottoman literature, came to be based on erudition of vocabulary and expression which had meaning only for a selected few.[5] Its language had little in common with the Turkish spoken by the masses and its images had no relation to life Deprived of natural feeling and spontaneity, and confined to rigid forms of expression, this literature shaped the minds of the Ottoman intellectuals and continued to affect even contemporary generations[6]

Verse was the most widely used means of expression in the old literature, while prose, except for the historical chronicle, was utterly neglected. The few attempts at prose writing, like those of Veysi and Nergisi in the seventeenth century, succeeded at most in "expressing a simple idea with thousands of foreign words, and in making it unintelligible . . . These verbose masters, who had succeeded in severing all the relations between expression and reality

in the Turkish thought, were considered the prose masters of the *Divan* literature."[7] Prose writing has been difficult in Turkey. Although the present generation of writers has brilliantly overcome this difficulty, nevertheless, obscure, tortuous way of expressing simple ideas can still be seen in provincial journals and even in some scholarly works The research of many Turkish scholars is still concentrated on studying books without relation to life or facts, and this method of intellectual work may be traced to Ottoman-Islamic literary influences in which there was no requirement to associate words with reality.

Folklore, the third and the most widespread type of literature, despite influences coming from the palace and religious literatures, preserved its natural and spontaneous spirit. The peasants, shepherds and nomadic tribes, living close to nature and reality, expressed their feelings directly in their own vernacular language, that is, in a simple and pure Turkish. Even folk singers, although often in the service of local rulers and greatly influenced by the religious literature, preserved the purity of language and kept close to reality.[8] It was quite natural for the Republic, therefore, especially during its first two decades, to look upon folklore as the foundation on which to build a national culture

The penetration of Western culture into the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century undermined chiefly the palace and religious literatures; the publication of newspapers brought new conceptions to large numbers of people, and the translations of Western works by Ibrahim Şinasi Efendi and Ahmet Vefik Paşa helped to spread information about the West and its ways of thinking. In all fields of literature the French influence was overwhelming; play or novel writing during the nineteenth century and in the first few years of the twentieth, closely followed French models[9] Some, indeed, were plain copies of the original. That the French and not the English provided the predominant literary influence, despite the *political* influence of the latter in the nineteenth century, may have been due to the fact that French thought had certain dogmatic characteristics which suited the Ottoman mind. Moreover, the newly-rising Ottoman intelligentsia fell easily under the spell of French romanticism, not only because romantimism was in vogue, but also because, through its departure from reality and its volatile emotionalism, romanticism resembled the spirit of the Ottoman literature in which these intellectuals had been brought up.[10]

The first group of path finders, or precursors of modernization in literature, known as the Tanzimat poets, were followed by the *Edebiyatı Cedide* (New Literature) group who eventually assembled around the *Servetifünun* (Scientific Review) and published their works there, from 1896 to 1901. The writers for the latter review, such as Tevfik Fikret, Cenap, Şehabettin, Süleyman Nazif and Hüseyin Siret, although reflecting the ideas and currents of Western literature, succeeded in adjusting them somewhat to local conditions, to the

cultural and political needs of society and to the struggle for freedom. Finally, they were silenced by Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1901, who saw in literature a great menace to his absolutist rule and closed all literary publications.

The Young Turk revolution of 1908 assisted the modernization of literature by allowing the free publication of a large number of periodicals of varying tendencies Nationalism seemed to be the main theme of this literature, Turkish language and Turkish elements were to have first place in art as well as politics The review *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens) of Ömer Seyfeddin and Ali Canip (Yontem) used the vernacular Turkish, and there was already a movement towards describing the common man and his daily life, as indicated by Ömer Seyfeddin's works Other reviews adopted new approaches in respect to art and literature, among them *Fecriati* (it was the continuation of *Serveti-fünun*), which defended art for art's sake Yet there was no clear-cut break with the old Ottoman literature, as Pan-Islamism and later Pan Turanism prevented a full reorientation towards the West. During the last years of the Union and Progress Party, 1915-1918, however, a secularist policy seemed well underway and Westernization in cultural matters gained momentum (The initiation of limited religious reforms, the opening of the University and the acceptance of women in institutions of higher learning are only a few examples of this).

The establishment of the Republic[11] and the reforms of 1925-1928 opened a new era in the cultural development of Turkey and in her literature. The state actively intervened in directing cultural life according to its modernist views The People's Houses (Halk Evleri) were established in 1931 and charged with the cultural emancipation of the masses through a concerted program of literary, artistic, dramatic and creative projects.[12] The People's Houses replaced the *Turk Ocaklare* (Turkish Hearths—these were established in 1911 and had been instrumental in developing Turkish nationalism) and were used as the main channel in implementing *Halkçılık* (Populism), one of the fundamental principles of the Republic Populism, as understood originally, had political, social and cultural implications. Politically it aimed at establishing the sovereignty of the people Socially, it expressed the need to end family privileges and titles, and consequently abolish the semi-feudal regime which prevailed in the eastern part of the county Law No. 1505 confiscating the property of rebellious landlords in the East deserves a special study in this context)[13] Culturally, populism aimed at reorienting Turkey's literature towards life and nature by utilizing forklore and the vernacular Turkish spoken by the masses as the source of inspiration. But populism also demanded from the individual total identification with the nation and renuciation of personal goals, which appeared to contradict its otherwise individualistic and apparently liberal views One may say that the spirit of *Umma*—identification with the Islamic group—was defined in political terms, transferred to

populism, and thus preserved. The People's Houses expressed and implemented the cultural policy of the Republic which turned its back on the past and accepted the West as the source of modernization in all fields. The Latin alphabet was adopted in order to cut connections with the past and force new generations to seek cultural inspiration in the West. The ultimate aim was a new society: nationalist, materialist-minded, progressive and based on science, technology and art; it was a society which had to accept the predominant importance of the material world for the human being without overlooking the non-material aspects of human existence. A new reformist and artistic education of society was the main responsibility of literature.[14]

The literary works which were to be supported and the plays to be put on the stage of the People's Houses had to meet the following requirements: "To promote love of nation and country, strengthen enthusiasm for reforms, revive the past glory of Turkish history, praise the bravery in the War of Liberation, describe the beauties of cities, towns, villages and each corner of the country in order to create interest in them, focus attention on the ugliness and ridiculousness of bad traditions, stress, with examples, morality in every field, awaken interest in and an inner predisposition for populism."[15]

This new literature carried with it a natural and liberal concept of life, which the regime wanted to generalize. Ataturk defined the purposes of literature as consisting of an endeavor to teach the child something of the world and of humanity, to develop in him an ability for analysis and synthesis, to enable him to do work on his own, and educate him to use all these abilities for developing his own society[16] Ismet Inonü, delivering the first lecture at the opening of compulsory courses on reform at Ankara University in 1934, declared:

> The conception of life of the Turkish reform is simple and based on natural law Life is something to be loved, protected and lived No difficulty whatsoever gives us the right to disrespect our own life, or the life of others A man's denigration . One must do his best to tell the people the pure and sublime order [brought] by the reform Ignorance is the chief evil to combat, and positive science is the brightest road to follow. On the other hand, life should be sacrificed for society. The individual is powerless and disoriented before nature in a society in which he has no predisposition to sacrifice his life for society.[17]

Along with these official views on literature there developed among intellectuals free discussion as to the content and language of this new literature There was, in fact, the problem of creating a national literature. Many found the idea of a national literature rather ridiculous, since anything written by a Turk in Turkish was *ipso facto* "national." Some considered "national" to be the equivalent of "nationalistic," but a large majority agreed that the new national literature had to draw its subject matter from every layer of Turkish society, from village to city, and to describe life with all its

social, economic and cultural aspects as objectively and artistically as possible. This idea was in fact a reaction to Ottoman literature, which had excluded country life from its repertory, and also to the latter-day literature up to the thirties, which had regarded the village and Anatolia as just part of a setting in which some sensitive soul from the city took refuge or played the last act of some drama[18] The artistic, objective description of life came to be accepted as one of the first requirements of a writer. This was described best by Yasar Kemal, one of the rising young novelists: "I write my reports", he said, "after long research I remain for a long time among people in a region which I do not know I became closely interested in everything—the trees and birds, folklore, gossip, ways of living, the dead and the alive. I learn their dialect and try to become one of them. At the end, I become in fact one of them . . . good reporting is done by good artists. I don't know anybody who has done good reporting without being a good artist Reporting is a branch of literature; one in development, and a difficult one"[19]

Once the question of national literature was settled by a general acceptance of the idea that it should reflect the spirit and the problems of the country in a natural artistic way, discussion concentrated on the social purpose of literature Recently, these discussions have become even more intense. This is explained partly by the fact that society continues to develop on two levels: certain sections of the city are rising fast towards the level of modern civilization, while the village, except in certain areas, continues to stagnate. So writers argue that literature and the intellectuals cannot overlook the fact that a large section of the population is still illiterate, living in wretched conditions and that society should try to cure this. In this context all art is social, for it exists both in and for society. However, this social realism had been bitterly *attacked by rightists who saw in it a disguise for leftism.*[20]

The idea of introducing the "social" in literature found its first systematic exponent in *Kadro*, an ideological review published in 1932-1934 with the approval of the government. Its main purpose was to build a socio-political philosophy for the Republic according to the realities of the country. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanğlu, one of the publishers,—he wrote *Yaban* (The Stranger), a powerful novel describing the wretched life of a village—was charged with reorienting literature towards reformist progressive goals which, in his understanding, meant social and nationalistic. *Kadro* was closed for leftist deviation, although no real supporting proof has been found. It is remembered as a publication which had a profound impact on the intellectuals of Turkey and oriented them towards social thinking; its educational value is generally accepted today.[21]

On the extreme side of the social current, there arose two powerful writers who were to leave their mark; Nazim Hikmet and Sabahaddin Ali The former wrote revolutionary poetry, on the model of Maiakowsky, and proved through

the use of simple words how powerful a language Turkish could become. Sabahaddin Ali wrote short stories and novels in a new style, in which Anatolia and its problem were realistically described. In both of these writers there was a strong emphasis on class differences, although both were staunch defenders of the Republic.[22]

On the right, there was the nationalist literature which formed the bulk of literary writings until the forties. This literature, dedicated to reform and secular in spirit, was represented by some of the poets known as the *Hececiler* (The Syllabists), among them Ziya Ortac, Orhan Seyfi Orhon (who published later the nationalist-racialist *Cinaraltı*-(Under the Plane Tree), Faruk Nafiz Camlıbel, and others such as Behcet Kemal Çağlar, and the essayist Peyami Safa. These in general rejected the individual and concentrated on praising the nation in a spirit of total individual sacrifice very similar to the spirit of Ziya Gokalp. (Peyami Safa could write *Insan Yok, Millet Var* (No Man, but Nation). The nationalist poem took most of its subjects from Anatolia and recent Republican Turkish history, but stopped short of genuine realism. Orhan Seyfi's poem, for instance, described Anatolia as Paradise on earth, where one lived without worries and in plenty. But such nonsense was not typical. Reşat Nuri Güntekin's novel *Yeşil Gece* (Green Night), and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Nur Baba* (Father Nur), attacked the obscurantist rites of the Bektashis and praised modern education. These last were two powerful writers in whom nationalistic aims were viewed in terms of social reality. This period produced also Yahya Kemal who, although drawing his inspiration chiefly from the greatness of the Ottoman Empire and writing in a semi-mystical, contemplative spirit, succeeded in reaching high artistic forms of expression on the mode of the French poet Valéry. One should also mention the symbolism of Ahmet Haşim, whose poetry left its impact on future generations.

Along with these currents, and as a reaction to their subordination to non-artistic goals, a new literary stream was born and eventually developed in the dominating current. This stream accepted the Republic's new conceptions of life and its modern goals, but rejected formalism and all restriction imposed upon art. The representatives of this middle-of-the road current eventually emerged as a group known as the *Yedi Meşaleciler* (Seven Torchbearers), composed of seven friends who gathered casually to discuss their dissatisfaction with existing literature. Their discussions led to the *publication of Meşale* (Torch), in Ankara in 1928 (only eight issues), and then to a series of individual publications. All seven of them, some still active, played essential parts in the intellectual development of Turkey as poets, writers or publishers.[23] French surrealism was their source of inspiration, but this acquired so many new Turkish features that it ceased to be solely a foreign import. The surrealist, indirect expression of a thought, in addition to being artistically tempting,

offered the possibility of expressing unorthodox views without hurting sensitive officialdom The Torchbearers defended sincere expression of feeling without adhering to any school of thought, and even rejected the idea of defending their views "Liveliness, sincerity and always the new" was their motto. These views were eventually put in practice by *Varlık* (Existence), which has been published regularly by Yaşar Nabı Nayır since 1933. (*Varlık* is both a literary review and a publishing house, through which many of the present writers of Turkey, such as Orhan Veli, Sait Faik, Mahmut Makal, and others, came to be known) Following the same literary tradition as *Varlık,* but stressing heavily the social responsibilities of literature, there is the review *Yeditepe* (Seven Hills), which also publishes original books and translations according to its own understanding of art [14]

Today this latest understanding of literature as represented by *Varlık* and *Yeditepe,* followed closely by *Dost* (Friend), and *Yeni Ufuklar* (New Horizons) dominates the poetry and prose of Turkey Among the best-known poets here are Orhan Veli Kanık, Fazıl Husnu Dağlarca, Cahit Kulebi, Ahmet Kutsi Tecer, Necati Cumalı, Oktay Rıfat, Ceyhun Atıf Kansu, Behcet Necatıgil and Ilhami Bekir Although concerned with the individual and society, they place first emphasis on artistic forms Their poems, most of them written in free forms, are permeated with a feeling of compassion for the underdog. The subjects are drawn from the daily life of cities and villages, but this poetry hardly attempts to deal concretely with situations of individuals Occasionally it has an obvious social theme—the poor girl dreaming of a rich husband, a lonely village without light, an uncared for dying man—but the sense of actuality is usually missing Admittedly, there are also collections, such as Fazıl Hüsnu Dağlarca's *Toprak Ana* (Mother Earth), dedicated to the description of village life in all of its aspects, but these are rather exceptional, since most of the poetry in this group, as we have said, places main emphasis on emotional effect rather than on objective and detailed description. (Paradoxical as it may appear, the conservative, religious-minded poetry also has contributed in awakening social consciousness. The review *Büyuk Doğu* [Great Orient] of poet Necip Fazıl Kısakurek, attacked inequality, the lavish living of the rich in utter disregard of Islamic law, and lamented the misery of the poor and the disappearance of morality. Morality for *Buyuk Doğu,* which has bitterly attacked all reforms, meant seclusion of women) The new Turkish literature had to have a new language. This was gradually developed, partly through the efforts of the *Dil Kurumu* (Language Institute) but mostly through the efforts of the writers themselves, who although they utilized some of the newly invented words, showed a preference for the syntax of the vernacular and for popular expressions. Whatever may be the shortcomings of this new language, it has been accepted by the young generation, and most contemporary literary works are written in it. The revision of the language reform since 1950 has reinstalled

some old words of Arabic and Persian origin which had been assimilated into Turkish but has not stopped, by any means, the development of the new language.

The planners of Turkey's cultural Westernization believed that a modern Turkish literature could not develop without a classical, humanistic tradition. The old Ottoman literature lacked humanism, and hence could not provide the basis. Consequently, the translation of classical works from foreign languages was considered a basic necessity, not only for acquiring the humanistic spirit, but also as a means of developing a taste for prose and the ability to express thoughts in a clear, organized fashion. Since private publishing houses translated foreign works without a plan and without due regard to quality, the government itself embarked on a translation program in 1940. This resulted in the translation of over 600 classical works ranging from the ancient philosophers to contemporary novels, in every language which has produced worthy literature. The translations were controlled for quality, and their sales prices were very low, to enable teachers and students to purchase them. Later, in 1947, the translations program was expanded to include works in all fields of social science, and today it is still continued.[26] The private publishing houses also improved, because of government competition, their own translation program, and expanded it to cover works not included in the official translation program. Thus, Turkey possesses today a rich and high-quality collection of translations likely to satisfy all tastes. Some of the classical authors greatly appreciated by Turks include Balzac, Hugo, Stendhal, Dickens, Ibsen, Maxim Gorki and Gogol. Special mention should be made of Panait Istrati whose warm humanitarianism made him much better known in Turkey than in his native Rumania. In the last ten years American writers such as Caldwell, Hemmingway, Steinbeck, Saroyan, Buck and Capote have found wide acceptance in Turkey. The dynamism and humanity of these writers, as well as their spontaneity and freedom from formalism, have affected many Turkish writers.[27]

In order to spread the new understanding of literature described above, the Ministry of Education in 1945 redrafted the textbooks for junior and senior high schools. The former ones had consisted mostly of biographical and chronological studies of poets and writers. The new textbooks studied literature directly from Turkish and foreign literary texts. This new method of study is still being applied, except that instead of one mandatory text book issued by the Ministry of Education, there are now several from which the teacher can make his own choice.[28] The text books must, however, be approved by the Ministry.

Turkish literature, despite all these developments, continued to be handicapped until the forties by a fundamental shortcoming: it was confined in the main to the small group of city intellectuals. The village, containing eighty per cent of the Turkish population, was left out. The few intellectuals of

peasant origin concealed their background as much as they could so as to avoid social embarrassment. Despite the fact that the People's Houses and some reviews strove to discuss village problems, a representative of this group hardly had any direct voice in these activities. The villager, however, entered literature through his own efforts (these are the words of Hasan Ali Yucel) and changed its entire outlook. The beginning of village literature is to be found in the Village Institutes established in 1940. These were created in order to eradicate quickly the illiteracy of the peasantry by taking boys directly from the village, educating them in the Institute (twenty-one Institutes and 20,000 graduates by 1952) and then sending them to serve as teachers in the villages. The curriculum of the Institutes was original indeed, consisting of theoretical courses and field work which aimed at developing the student's spirit of observation, self-reliance and initiative. The purpose was to enable him, as a teacher, to cope with rough village conditions.

The curriculum emphasized the study of literature. The reading of world classics was generally practiced—with special attention to Turkish folklore and folk music.[29] In matters of language the students were taught to use simple Turkish and write with objectivity and sincerity, directly, in the manner they felt and spoke. In order to strengthen these efforts the Ministry of Education published the *Koy Enstituleri Dergisi* (Review of the Village Institutes) in 1945. This small review was a forerunner of the new village literature. Teachers and students alike published their short stories, poems and field observations in this review, in almost all of which were found a direct connection between deed and word, thought and fact.

The education offered in the Village Institutes aimed at a harmonious development of the individual by preserving and cultivating his natural attachment to his environment and his interest in village welfare. The result was a new type of intellectual dedicated to the solution of village problems in a simple but determined fashion.[30] Beginning in 1948-49, there appeared in *Varlik*, under the signature of an Institute graduate, Mahmut Makal, some notes describing realistically life in a Turkish village. When these notes were published in book form under the name of *Bizim Koy* (Our Village) in 1950, they constituted one of the greatest events in the literary history of Turkey. The subsequent, ever-growing interest in the village has made it a favorite literary topic. Mahmut Makal, who wrote three more books and a considerable number of articles, was followed by other Village Institute graduates (now teachers) such as Talip Apaydin, Fakir Baykurt, and Mehmet Başaran, all of whom dealt extensively with various aspects of village problems.[31]

In addition to the village authors there rose another group of first class writers of lower middle class origin: Yaşar Kemal, Orhan Kemal, Tahir Kemal, Samim Kocagoz and Ilhan Tarus, whose short stories and novels deal with the village or with city-village relations. Reality, objectivity, personal experience,

field observation and artistic expression are characteristics of their writing. These new people, coming from the grassroots and representing the views and aspirations of this social level, have brought new spirit into the society and to the individual. The evolution of Turkish literature thus appears to have been affected by government policy in a very beneficial manner. The government took the initiative, opened the way to Western cultural penetration, and did its best to hold in check the forces likely to oppose this penetration, but it left society as a whole ultimately free to assimilate and interpret the new ideas very much on its own Wherever pressure was smallest and freedom greatest, long lasting and original results were achieved. It is through this freedom that a new world has been created in literature One may say that there is now a genuine Turkish literature which shapes the mind and heart of the new Turk according to the country's realities, and prepares society for further democratic evolution.

Along with this "literary literature" there exists the unavoidable sentimental popular literature describing family dramas, shattered loves, lonely wanderings in the moonlight, and the such Unfortunately, this literature furnishes the scripts for the film industry of Turkey, which ranked second to Hollywood last year so far as the number of films available in Turkey was concerned. It is read by a large number of people and its effects on behavior are rather obvious Among the writers in this category there are Kerime Nadir, Mahmut Karakurt, Muazzez Tahsin Berkant, Etem Izzet Benice. However, the real impact on the country's development is created by the groups dealt with in this study.

NOTES TO PART I

1 Hasan Ali Yucel, *Turk Edebiyatına Toplu Bir Bakış* (A General View of Turkish Literature Istanbul, 1933), p 5 Yucel's views are cited because, as Minister of Education in the nineteen forties, he was instrumental in giving a new orientation to the cultural life of Turkey He was originally a professor of philosophy and his text book on modern logic was used in all Turkish high schools For standard works on the history of literature, see Mustafa Nihat Özon, *Sn Asır Türk Edebiyat Tarihi*—(The History of the Last Century Turkish Literature Istanbul, 1941) and *Turkçede Roman* (The Novel in Turkish, Istanbul, n d), Ismail Habib, *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz* (The Western Literature and Ourselves 2 vols Istanbul, 1940-1941), Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX Asır Turk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (The 19th Century History of Turkish Literature, Istanbul 1956) Also Otto Spies, *Gegenwart der Turkische Literature* (Leipzig, 1937), *Anthologie des Ecrivains Turcs d'Aujourd'hui* (Press Directorate, Istanbul, 1935), Alessio Bombaci, *Storia della Letteratura Turca dall'Antico di Mongolia all 'Turchia Moderna,* (Milano, 1956); Kerim K Key "Trends in Modern Turkish Literature," *The Muslim World* October 1957, pp 318-328, *Modern Turkish Literature* Turkish Information Office, New York, n d

2 The *Saltukname* describes in the main the battles of Muslim Turks in the Balkans It derives its name from Baba (Sarı) Saltuk, the religious fighter-hero, who led the first Muslim groups into Dobrudja on the Black Sea, much before the establishment of the Ottoman Empire A copy of this epic is to be found in the Topkapı Palace library in Istanbul For an account of the epic, see Fuad Koprulu in *Belleten* review of the Turkish Historical Society, No 27, July 1943, pp 430-442

3 A teacher writes "The villagers gathered in village rooms at nights and on winter days still talk about Prophet Ali's wars, the conquest of Hayber fortress, the war between Ebulcehil and Prophet Hamza, Battal Gazi . . ." *Altan* (Review of the People's House of Elâzığ) January 22, 1936, p 2

4 See Abdulbakı Golpınarlı, *Yunus Emre Divanı*, 2 volumes. (Istanbul, 1948) For a shorter version, see Nevzat Yesırgıl, *Yunus Emre*, (Istanbul, 1958)

5 The rigidity of the Palace and religious branches of Ottoman literature seems greater than that of the literature of other Muslim countries The Palace literature never quite adopted all the forms of the Arabic and Persian literatures which served it as a model It limited itself to taking those forms—*kaside* or eulogy, *gazel* or sonnet, *mesnevi* or poetical narration—which suited the socio-political purposes or the tastes of the ruling group The Arab *Wasf*, the descriptive poem — une veritable peinture en vers"—as Francesco Gabrielli put it, found little acceptance in the Ottoman Literature See Correlation Entre la Litterature et l'Art dans la Civilization Muslamane" in *Classicisme et Declin Culturel dans l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Edited by R Brunschvig and G E von Grunebaum, Paris, 1957), p 55 For examples of Divan poetry see E J W Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* vols I-VI, 1904-1958 passim

6 Yaşar Nabı, the publisher of *Varlık* for twenty-seven years and one of the most outstanding literary critics of Republican Turkey, wrote "The Divan Literature has added some of its own essence to the Turkish mind much more than one would suppose In the high schools youngsters who try to write their first poems believe that they can write merely by putting together flowery words without any topic and without feeling anything" Yaşar Nabı, *Edebıyatımızın Bugunkü Meselelerı* (The Problems of our Present Literature Istanbul, 1937), pp 73-74

7 Yucel, *op cit*, p 134 For other views on prose, see Reşat Nuri Darago, "Nesırsız Edebıyat" (Literature Without Prose) in *Varlık*, March 1-15, 1946, pp 225-228, also Yaşar Nabı, *op cit*, p 73

8 For the folk singers of Turkish literature, see Faud Köprulü, *Türk Sazşairlerı*, vols I-III, Istanbul, 1940 Folklore research in Turkey also is quite extensive, and findings were published in the forty odd reviews of the People's Houses until recently The works of Pertev Naili Boratav are probably the best systematic study of Turkish folklore

9 See Cevdet Perin, *Tanzımat Edebıyatında Fransız Tesırı*, (French Influence in the Literature of the Tanzimat Istanbul, 1946) For books translated in 1859-1900 see pp 209 232

10 Romanticism was dominant, but there are exceptions Nabızade Nazım (1860-1893), an officer influenced by French realism, made attempts to write in Emile Zola's fashion His *Kara Bıbek*—Bibek the Black—was a realistic work but its influence remained insignificant

11 For the establishment of the Republic and modernization reforms see Kemal H Karpat, *Turkey's Politics, The Transition to a Multi Party System* (Princeton, 1959), pp 32-76

12 The People's Houses were bound directly to the Secretariat General of the Republican Party, Bureau Number One The instruction letters of the Secretariat to People's Houses indicate the close interest of the party in these organizations The Houses had nine sections The sections on literature, history, folklore, drama, and village development were closely related and occupied the major part of the program Each House in a city was instructed to publish a review of its own The central review was "*Ülkü*" (Homeland) published in Ankara, which set the main lines of policy Some forty five different reviews were published throughout Turkey by the People's Houses, and some amounted to voluminous collections The technical value of these reviews may be questionable, but they played an important part in spreading the ideas of the new régime into the remotest sections of the country, in giving a chance to local people to express opinions and interpret local conditions in the light of new developments, and also in training people in prose writing, research and journalism Some of these reviews provide a rich source for the study of folklore and some valuable sociological field observation By 1950 there were 478 houses in villages and towns They all were closed and became the property of the Treasury in 1951, inasmuch as they were considered to have been built with public funds and used illegally by the Republican Party for its own purposes Some have been given to the *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearths), re established in 1949 See *Cumhurıyet Halk Fırkası Kâtıbı Umumılığının Fırka Teşkılatına Umumı Teblıgatı* (The General Instructions of the Republican Party General Secretariat to Party Organizations), Vols 1-15, Ankara 1933-1940 See Karpat, *op cit*, pp 380-381

13 Some testimony describing the Republic's struggle against the feudal lords in the East can be found in Naşit Hakkı Bey, *Derebeyi ve Dersım*—(The Feudal Lords and Dersim, Ankara, 1932), also in Cemal Bardakcı, *Bızde Sıyası Partıler*, (Political Parties in Our Country, Istanbul, 1946) Contemporary Turkish literature provides even better insight into this struggle between the Republican régime and feudalism See novels by Kemal Tahır, *Esır Şehrın Insanları* (The People of the Slave Town) and Ilhan Tarus, Hukumet Meydanı (Government Square). The latter was published in the daily *Cumhurıyet* in 1959

14 *Ülkü*, February, 1933, p 4, March 1933, p 100, October 1933, p 234 (Speech by Ismet Inönu and articles of Necip Alı Kuçuka)

15 *Ülkü*. March 1934, p 76

16. See *Atatürk Yolu*, April 1959 It may be appropriate to reproduce a few lines from Ataturk's declaration to Rumanian newspapermen on March 17, 1937, which shows his own delicate concept of people and of life, "Everyone has his own hobby, some have gardens and want to raise beautiful flowers Some other people like to bring up people Does the flower raiser expect anything from his flowers? Those bringing up people should have the same feelings as the gardener. Only those people who think and act in such a manner can be of help to their country and its future" *Ulus*, March 18, 1937.

17 *Ülkü*, April 1934, pp 84-85

18 For the views of various people on national literature see Nusret Safa Coşkun, *Milli Bir Edebiyat Yaratabilirmiyiz?* (Can We Create a National Literature? Istanbul, 1938) See also *Fikirler*, January 1, 1941, pp 9-10, November 1958, pp 8-11 *Ülkü*, March 1933, pp 108-109, *Konya*, October, 1944, pp 14-16

19 *Varlık*, March 1, 1956, p 6 The present literature of Turkey, the prose in particular, stresses objectivity in writing, personal experience, and direct expression of emotion This method has resulted in a large amount of sociological material which would enable the social scientist to analyze Turkish society and appraise its transformation This society appears, on the basis of information supplied by literature, as an extremely heterogeneous group comprising villages and towns at all levels of development, and using methods of work ranging from the primitive to the ultramodern In terms of social customs and values the same is witnessed, some areas have a way of life which would be quite acceptable to Westerners, while other areas remain in darkness This heterogeneity is not, it appears, dependent only upon income or even region, but also upon the varying traditions of work and social organization Hence, the need for modern sociological studies appears urgent Such studies must determine realistically the situation in the country Development projects can then be initiated accordingly, rather than following *a priori* ideas borrowed from elsewhere The present emphasis on technological development aggravates further the already confused social picture by superimposing new conditions upon the existing structure

20 *Hür Ufuklar* (Free Horizons), *Yelken* (Sail), *Demet* (Bouquet) and *Yedıtepe* (Seven Hills) are the principal journals defending the social view. For the opposing views see *Toprak*, also Peyami Safa, *Mahutlar* (The Notorious), Istanbul, 1959

21 None of Kadro's publishers suffered prosecution Karaosmanoğlu himself was sent as ambassador to Albania The reason for the closure may lie in the fact that the review was gradually bringing to public attention some social and economic conflicts, as industrialization was progressing and social differentiation had speeded up Ideas such as *"the penetration of the social reforms into the social structure of Turkish villages is a historical necessity to ensure the survival and the welfare of the reform,"* were accurate, but in a way premature, and in other ways too advanced to please the party hierachy See Karaosmanoğlu's memories, *Zoraki Diplomat*, (Diplomat by Force Istanbul, 1955), pp 22-23 See *Kadro* February, 1932, pp 26-28, April 1932, pp 17, January 1932, p 27-29 See *Forum* October 15, November 1, 15, December 15, 1958 See also Karpat, *op cit*, pp 70-73

22 Sabahaddin Ali was murdered by the smuggler who was supposed to help him escape to Bulgaria in 1948 Nazım Hikmet escaped to the Soviet Union in 1951 after having been liberated from jail in Turkey

23. Yaşar Nabi Nayır, Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, Muammer Lutfi, Kenan Hulusi Koray, Ziya Osman Saba, Vasfi Mahir Kocaturk, Cevdet Kudert Solok *Varlık*, February 1, 1947, p 3, January 1, 1954, pp 6-7

24 *Varlık* published over one hundred original works and many more translations from Western literatures See the catalog appearing on the last page of every issue The same is true of *Yedıtepe*, but on a more limited scale On the rightist side, *Toprak* (Earth), follows the same procedure

25 The question of language reform and the present discussion on the subject deserves much more space than is given in this article. The magazine *Turk Dili* of Agah Sirri Levend is dedicated to this problem, not to speak of individual writings appearing in almost every publication in Turkey *Cumhuriyet* has devoted its annual *Yunus Nadi* competition award to the language problem this year On language reform see Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey*, (Jerusalem 1954), see also periodical news in *Die Welt des Islams* and *Oriente Moderno*

26 For bibliography see Adnan Ötugen, *Klasikler Bibliografyası* (Classics Bibliography, Istanbul 1952), See also, the periodical *Tercüme* (Translation), Nos, 41-42, 1947. The latter published translations from foreign languages and occasionally from Turkish into English, French or German

27 See *Varlık*, May 1, 1951, p 18, January 1, 1954, p 30 (Muhtar Körükcü) Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, one of the better known poets and essayists of Turkey, was very pleased upon hearing an American professor define the Atatürk University recently established in Erzurum in cooperation with Nebraska University, as a "university for the people" Kansu referred to a general desire to see the learning institutions give up their scholastic ways of teaching and deal with concrete facts close to the people's understanding *Varlık*, January 1, 1955, p 4

28 For texts in the period after 1945, see *Türkce Metinler*, (Turkish Texts, vol 1-6, Ankara 1945-), after 1950, see Nihad Sami Banarlı, *Metinlerle Türk ve Batı Edebiyatı* (Turkish and Western Literature Through Texts, 3 vols, Istanbul, 1956) Also see Beşir, Goguş-Kemal Demiray, *Turkçe* (Turkish, Istanbul, 1956)

29 This author has gone over several hundred book receipts in the Library of Hasanoğlan Teachers School near Ankara, which was the key village Institute The survey indicated the students great interest in the classics, although romantic novels and stories were also available. Turkish history and topics related to the general situation in the country seemed appealing to them as well

30 The Village Institutes deserve a careful detailed study, for their mark on the cultural life of Turkey was deep and it will continue to bear results There is general agreement among intellectuals as to their beneficial impact and they may be revived some time in the future There is a vast amount of writing on Village Institutes in all the reviews cited in the present study See also Watson Dickerman, *Turkiye Halk Egitimi Hakında Rapor*, (Report on Mass Education in Turkey, Ankara, 1956), Demet, 1953-1958, *Egitim ve Psikoloji*, April 1955, pp 1-3, 8, *Yeni Ufuklar*, November 1958, pp 177 179 See also Karpat, *op cit*, pp 377-380, Mahmut Makal, *17 Nisan*, (17 April, Ankara, 1959)

31 Several of these are well known writers in their early thirties and winners of literary prizes They made their literary debut in the Review of the Village Institutes An even larger number of Village Institute graduates published works on education, economy and village problems Today at least five periodicals are published by these graduates in various parts of Turkey *Demet* (Bouquet) in Isparta, *Koy ve Egitim* (Village and Education) in Ankara, *Egitim Yolu* (The Road of Education) and *Zamantı* in Kayseri and *Gayret* (Effort) in Izmir

RURAL ADMINISTRATION IN MOROCCO

William H. Lewis

The personnel presently serving as Morocco's rural administrators are spread thinly throughout the nation. The Rommani district is fairly typical of this pattern. Within this administrative zone, 60,000 Zaer tribesmen engage in agricultural and pastoral pursuits over a broad expanse of rich agricultural lands and arid hills which extend from near Rabat in the north to the approaches of Boulhaut to the west and Tedders in the east. They are under the direction of a handful of *qaids, qadis,* stenographers, clerks and *mukhaznis* who maintain the local Administrative Center. This Center, which is situated atop a knoll commanding an unobstructed view of the bustling community of Rommani (population. 5,000), serves as the primary link between the Zaer tribesmen and the government in the capital of Rabat. Its officials are responsible for the administrative control, security, and well-being of the numerous towns, villages, and hamlets falling under their jurisdiction. Young (most of them less than thirty-five years of age), relatively well educated, selected from the ranks of the nationalist Istiqlal Party, and reflecting a heavy concentration of urban backgrounds, these officials are a sanguine, ambitious, still untested group characterizing the strengths and weaknesses of an embryonic rural administration. Since four-fifths of Morocco's 10,000,000 people live in the countryside, the effectiveness of officials and technicians, such as those at Rommani, is of major importance for the cohesion and stability of Morrocco.

An Outline of Goals

However, rural government involves infinitely more than the collective strengths and individual weaknesses of *qaids* and governors. Administration must spring from a commonly-agreed philosophy, defined with clarity, vigorously pursued by trained cadres capable of coordinating inter-ministerial decisions, and supported by meaningful programs promising rural uplift, in order to assure popular acceptance. Perhaps of even greater importance, however, is the need for rural areas to arrive at some comprehensive consensus on communal goals and aspirations in order that governmental programs may be formulated with clarity. This is a tremendously complicated and arduous

◇ William H Lewis recently returned from a year in Morocco, where he studied the organization of the Zaer tribe under a grant from the Ford Foundation The Ford Foundation is not the author, owner, publisher, or proprietor of this article and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grants any of the statements made or opinions expressed therein

process at best. For rural Morocco is half-traditional and half-transitional. Internal consensus is restrained by cleavages between tribes, divergent ways of life, linguistic factors, isolation from communications media, varying educational levels, and highly differentiated stages of national consciousness. The impact of modern European institutions and values has varied from region to region, from tribe to tribe, even from family to family, in intensity and consequence. In such circumstances, responsibility for interpreting the needs, desires, and the fragmentary consensus of far-flung communities, as well as the implementation of effective programs of action, has fallen largely upon the national leadership in Rabat.

In the spring of 1956 Morocco's leaders were confronted with multitudinous problems of their own Various ministries had perforce to be created out of the whole cloth; personnel were being eagerly sought to fill senior administrative positions in the provinces; security had to be restored to areas which had become the battleground for independence. The country was lacking in trained Muslim administrators, technicians, educators, doctors, and security personnel Rural officials who had served under the French administration after 1951 were largely tainted with the collaborationist brush and hence were removed from office. In some areas, whole communities interpreted the coming of independence to mean the termination of local taxes, such as the *tartib* (agricultural tax on produce) In other areas, the Army of Liberation—a rural guerilla force which sprang up in 1955 in opposition to the protectorate authorities— continued to range the countryside exacting tribute and producing anxiety and fear among French farm families. In Rabat itself, an embryonic administration was confronted with the need to negotiate agreements terminating Spanish control over the northern protectorate zone, as well as liquidating the eight-power international administration over Tangier The return of these zones compounded the problems of administration, since their inhabitants were accustomed to different legal, educational, and governing institutions, as well as differing outlets for political expression and action Finally, the victorious nationalist leadership felt constrained to eliminate all traces of the French protectorate's erstwhile Berber policy which had sought to compartmentalize Berber and Arab institutions politically, juridically and culturally.

By the beginning of 1957, a number of governmental problems and goals began to crystallize. The most immediate of these were concerned directly with normalization of life in rural regions after the initial outbursts of enthusiasm following independence, the setting in motion of administrative machinery capable of collecting revenues and encouraging rural rapport with Rabat, the purging of "collaborationists," and the slow liquidation of all political traces of the *ancien régime*. By the declining months of 1957, it was apparent that the government's ambitions exceeded these transitional goals by a considerable margin. Rural Morocco increasingly came to be regarded as the linchpin for

the country's future economic growth and prosperity. At the same time, however, major obstacles had to be faced, such as a proliferating population, mass under-employment, uncontrolled exoduses to overcrowded urban centers, and tribal particularism. His Majesty's Government instituted a multi-faceted political, economic and social plan having the following intermediate and long-range goals: (1) the integration and unification of all former Moroccan protectorate zones as one national unit; (2) liquidation of all former obstacles to national cohesion through a reorganization of administrative boundaries, a program of detribalization and the standardization of educational and judicial systems; (3) stabilization of rural population through modernization programs intended to increase agricultural productivity and augment standards of living; and (4) the introduction of representative institutions capable of clarifying rural opinion and local needs. The goals enumerated above evince an appreciation of the inter-relationship of economic, social, and political factors. Economic advancement, as one Moroccan official pointed out during a personal interview, cannot be planned properly without political cohesion which, in turn, is dependent upon the erosion of restrictive tribal ethnocentricities. On the other hand, the pronounced program of detribalization is dependent upon a realignment of rural communities around local centers of economic activity such as markets (*suqs*) and communications crossroads. The effectiveness of these essentially economic foci in corroding tribal homogeneity, in turn, is predicated upon existing plans for rural modernization. The conclusion to be reached is that no one sector—i.e., political, economic, or social—can be attacked without parallel efforts in related sectors To do so would threaten what equilibrium remains in communal life. Consequently, the Moroccan government is compelled to operate on multitudinous fronts simultaneously

The complexity of the rural problem is exemplified by the situation obtaining among the Zaer Increasingly, these tribespeople are becoming more concerned with the configuration of today's economy than with the spiritual geography of the soul tomorrow. However, available economic opportunities are in short supply. Rising unemployment in the cities makes these erstwhile sanctuaries for the rural proletariat less attractive with each passing year. Concomitantly, employment opportunities are shrinking locally as the once-numerous French agriculturalists abandon their farms for France. (Only 20 per cent of the Zaer labor force is salaried today.) Among the bulk of Moroccan landholders, overcrowding, inadequate irrigations, and poor quality of soil limit prospects for sustaining family life. The Ghoualem tribal fraction of the Zaer is not atypical. Here, twenty families generally attempt to subsist on approximately 100 hectares of land. As available soil shrinks against the geometric progression of births, rural migration has assumed new patterns. Unemployed workers are transplanting their families to small towns such as Rommani and Had Brachoua creating separate tin-can shanty *madinas* and

manifold problems for rural administrators. Growing claims are being placed upon the government for improved housing facilities, larger schools, opportunities for employment, and a general improvement in the level of living.

Framework for the Implementation of Policy

Moroccan rural administration, of necessity, has tended to follow many procedural patterns inherited from the French-Spanish protectorate period. Except for the redesignation of place names, changes in official titles, and the realignment of provinces, the present-day administrative system is not entirely unreminiscent of Morocco in the period prior to 1953. However, as might be anticipated, the Spanish pattern has been subordinated and partially submerged as a result of procedures adopted by the senior officials from the economically and politically more evolved former French zone. Since the overwhelming majority of existing cabinet officials and under secretaries have been the product of French universities and technical schools it is not surprising that a predilection for French administrative techniques would obtain

At the outset of the French protectorate, the country's territorial organization was largely military, reflecting the strenuous efforts being made to "pacify" bellicose tribesmen In 1913, however, an effort was made to create an embryonic civil administration in areas not under military occupation, notably in the Chaouia region around Casablanca Civil *circonscriptions*, as opposed to *régions militaires*, were erected and placed under the authority of *contrôleurs civils*, a cadre of directors which was the outgrowth of French experience in Tunisia It was not until 1919, however, that the first *régions civiles* were organized, comprising the areas of Rabat and Casablanca By 1923, pacified Morocco was organized into four *civiles* (Rabat, Chaouia, Gharb, and Oujda), three *contrôles civils* (Mazagan, Safi, and Mogador), and three *régions militaires* (Fes, Meknes, and Marrakech). Several years later, after the departure of Marshal Lyautey, a leading advocate of indirect rule, a decree was approved by the President of the French Republic placing questions of Moroccan civil administration within the competence of the French Resident General. Subsequent reorganizations of rural machinery simply refined the prevailing structure which was predicated upon the principle of centralization, with most major policy decisions being taken at Rabat.

As the French military pacification proceeded to its conclusion in 1934, an anomalous situation began to develop—administrative responsibility within the Moroccan Government, or *makhzin*, tended to become polarized. Whereas previously, local *qaids* served in rural areas as, at least, the nominal representatives of the Sultan, a number of the more powerful of these chieftians came to rival the ruler in influence and prestige. This dilution of Sultanic authority first developed under Marshal Lyautey, who wished to reward such *qaids* as Tihami al-Glaoui of Marrakech for assistance tendered the French military in

its efforts to pacify dissident tribes. Thus, by 1934, these *grand seigneurs* came to be regarded by the Resident General as primary stabilizing influences and were given huge fiefs. At the same time, successful military pacification had produced the political unification of the French zone, theoretically in the name of the Sultan—thus completing the polarization of power. Paradoxically, as this process reached completion ineluctable forces already were in motion which were eroding the power of the great *qaids* and the Sultan's *makhzin* administration. The presence of mounting numbers of Europeans opened rural areas to commerce, introduced a cash economy, and augmented contact with the modern world. Greater population mobility resulted and Casablanca became the largest city of the Chleuh peoples (southern Berbers) in Morocco. Through this process, the ability of Tihami al-Glaoui and other chieftains to control the Chleuh peoples through age-old autocratic methods inevitably was undermined. At the national level, on the other hand, the locus of major administrative responsibility increasingly became concentrated in French offices, thus bringing into doubt the *raison d'être* of many traditional *makhzin* institutions.

The organization of the Zaer was fairly typical. Falling within the confines of the Rabat Region, the confederation was administered as part of the *Circonscription des Zaers* with Marchand—present-day Rommani—serving as the zone's capital. Covering almost 3,000 kilometers, the Zaer were organized into 15 rural communities all focused upon accessible market towns and communications centers. At the apex of the administrative structure were the ubiquitous French *contrôleurs*.

Although initially implanted in local communities as advisers, the *contrôleurs civils* soon began to arrogate greater responsibilities. After the departure of Marshal Lyautey the principle of indirect rule evaporated quickly. Local French officials, whose superior technical skills and frequent profound understanding of the needs of their Moroccan "wards," took on a multiplicity of duties. Laboring long hours, often under the most trying conditions, they were to be found: (1) administering a bureaucratic apparatus which grew in complexity with the passing years; (2) assisting local judges in the dispensation of awards and punishments; (3) arranging tax allocations; (4) planning improvements in agricultural and grazing techniques; and (5) petitioning the Neo-Sherifian (French) services at Rabat for greater aid in irrigation works, agricultural credits, and roads development. Imperceptibly at first, the *contrôleurs* came to lobby for the interests of "their tribe" and assume the role of father-protectors This had a profound impact upon the distribution of power within the tribes themselves.

With the transfer of power to the *contrôleurs*, tribal institutions for self-government fell into desuetude. For example, the *jam'a*, or assembly of notables, which formerly concerned itself with the economic, social, and political affairs of the community, began to lose its influence. In addition, young people

moved to cities, became educated, and increasingly assumed the position of village and tribal opinion-formers Indeed, no longer could the age of the notables be equated with wisdom in the face of the hitherto unknown problems of the modern world At the same time, petty *qaids* lost influence as they increasingly deferred to their French advisers on major issues. Below the level of the *qaid*, the *shuyukh* who had responsibility for the affairs of the tribal fraction also became more and more powerless Tribal unity remained strong in many regions where the impact of the modern world was attenuated, in the plains areas tribal institutions tended to retain their effectiveness in the cultural and economic realms, but with considerable loosening of political cohesion under the stimulus of changing social values. In general, the administrative pattern of the protectorate remained one of strong centralization until the twilight of French rule While occasional efforts were made at regional decentralization, the system remained *"étroit, étouffant et tyrannique"* as one French authority has indicated [1]

With Morocco's emergence as an independent nation, the country was bequeathed an administrative apparatus of French origin which required some overhaul At the outset, two previous trends were reversed Final authority, as might be anticipated, came to repose in the *makhzin* government, under the control of the King Secondly, the once-powerless petty *qaids* recaptured their former position and influence, however, under the restraining influence of the newly-organized Ministry of Interior at Rabat Concomitantly, the *qaids* symbolically occupied the offices once held by the French *contrôleurs*, taking over their desks, documents, records, and blueprints for community development In the process, many of the features of the former protectorate administration were retained While *qaids* replaced French officials among the Zaer, for example, representatives at the lower level continued to be selected by the new administration The members of rural communities such as Rommani might nominate three candidates for the position of *shaykh* but it remains for the local *qaid* to select the best qualified individual

The most immediate problem confronting the new Moroccan Government in 1956 was the unification of an Empire which has been ruled for forty years by, not one, but several European nations. In order to assure more direct control and supervision, the country was reorganized into five *prefectures* (the cities of Rabat, Casablanca, Meknes, Fes, and Marrakech) and twenty provinces [2] The latter, in turn, were divided into three to five "circles" headed by super-*qaids*. This type of reorganization, however, requires large cadres of functionaries, as well as profound modification of previous modes of conduc-

1 Frederick Bremard, *L'Organisation Régionale du Maroc* Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, Paris, 1949, p 169

2 The Balafrej Administration of 1958 subsequently planned to reduce the number of provinces from 20 to 13, and to eliminate Marrakech, Fes, and Meknes from the list of *prefectures*.

ting business. Morocco, as one official pointed out to me, is still lacking in cadres but already is modifying the manner in which its officials perform their tasks. There can be little doubt, on the other hand, that the dearth of trained-administrators produces a gap in the communications channel between *qaids* and rural tribesmen. The gap is further widened, over the short term, by the present program for integration of former Spanish-zone leaders into the administrative system, training them at the School of Administration in Rabat, and assigning them to communities in the south This form of integration is far-sighted and wise. However, it produces some emotional reaction on the part of personnel involved. For example, one officer I encountered in a Zaer village was from the Rif Mountains and felt singularly ill at ease in an Arab community, preferring himself to speak Spanish rather than the unfamiliar French in which he had recently been trained In another village, the local *qaid* was a member of the neighboring Zemmour tribe—a traditionally more powerful and influential confederation than the Zaer—and, despite his European educational background, felt the Zaer to be somewhat inferior to his brethren. The absence of trained cadre produces additional difficulties, such as the appointment of city-born officials who are not familiar with the local *qaida* (customs) of the communities whose welfare they must oversee. These are the problems of "infancy and inexperience," as Moroccan officials in Rabat point out, which are expected to resolve themselves as greater skill and proficiency develop [3]

In a number of tribal communities, the government has appointed *qaids* from among the more progressive, modern-oriented families whose sons have received European training or are members of the Istiqlal Party. The results are agreeably refreshing. Morocco, for example, has brought into question the Western principle of administration through gerontocracy. In one community of 23,000 I was startled to find that the local *qaid* was a Zaer tribesman of approximately twenty-one years of age His education, knowledge of the tribal *qaida,* good family background, and temperament made him a natural leader capable of commanding respect and cooperation. (He was assisted by a sixty-year old scribe who took great pride in recalling the more illustrious moments in Zaer chronicles.) In another community, at Souk el-Arba, one official is an indigenous agriculturalist of considerable wealth and education who has volun-

3 Paradoxically, as the administration seeks to close the communications gap between officials and tribesmen through coordinated effort it is confronted with problems of coordination of its own in Rabat As one Moroccan official indicated to me, there exists a plethora of agencies in the capital which often formulate and execute programs without lateral consultation In addition to the Ministry of Interior, agencies concerned with rural development include the following (1) Division of Economic Coordination and Plan Affairs, (2) Agricultural Service, (3) Veterinary Service; (4) Work Centers, (5) Rural Engineering Service, (6) Insurance Service, (7) Water and Forestry Service and (8) related agencies in the Ministries of Justice, Education, Health, etc At this time, strenuous efforts are being made to coordinate these agencies' activities through special committees and commissions

teered his services on an *ad hoc* basis. He has performed brilliantly in translating the wants and desires of his fellow farmers into useful programs of action

However, recent disturbances in the Rif Mountains and the Middle Atlas indicate that the communications gap between government and governed has not been completely closed The King and his advisers have recognized that a policy of integration of disparate rural areas must be accompanied by the creation of representative communal organs capable of articulating the views of rural Morocco Nevertheless, they are confronted with the need to reorganize these rural communities along rational economic and financial lines prior to establishing representative councils To do so without detribalization would imply governmental sanction of tribalism in its political form, something which the present administration wishes to avoid Consequently, rural elections must be examined within the framework of Moroccan tribalism and governmental efforts to realign communal interests along more modern lines

Elections as a Vehicle for Consensus

The dimensions and complexity of the tribal question was revealed during the winter months of 1958-1959, when dissidence in the northern Rif area, as well as in the foothills of the Moyen Atlas, led King Muhammad V to create an impartial Royal Commission of Inquiry to investigate the causes of this rural unrest The preliminary conclusions of the Commission are enlightening Its report indicated that tribal disobedience did not spring from disloyalty to the King, for whom there is genuine devotion and respect, but, rather, from a concatenation of diverse factors These included (1) "certain mistakes made by some agents of authority who have either badly interpreted their duties, or abused their role,' (2) deepening economic and social problems in a "particularly disinherited region where life is very hard," (3) impatience for amelioration of conditions by a population which is aware of its contribution to the independence struggle, (4) isolation; (5) under-administration; and (6) local particularism which, "as in all mountainous countries, is very lively." Two significant trends are made clear by this preliminary survey. Remote areas in rural Morocco have begun to feel the stimulus of the modern world, are becoming politically articulate, and wish greater assistance from the *national* government Secondly, competing with this embryonic national consciousness are the still powerful emotional ties of tribal values and institutions which are reinforced whenever the government does not accommodate local needs. Thus, we find Rif tribes *employing traditional modes of expressing protest*—i.e., refusal to pay taxes, avoidance of local market towns, and evacuation of men folk to the warren of bleak hills—*for the attainment of essentially modern goals*—i e , provision of work opportunities for unemployed laborers, construction of new schools, and the improvement of local markets.

The Moroccan Government has formulated a promising program to meet these needs Three approaches are expected to supply the necessary political cement which is to unify Morocco's isolated communities into a unified national entity: (1) constant improvement in the quality and skills of local administrators; (2) the creation of representative institutions wherein local communities can freely express their wants and evolve programs for constructive action and (3) the introduction of reform programs promising an increase in material assets and a tangible improvement in the educational capacities of rural areas. However, as King Muhammad V indicated in his Speech from the Throne of November 1958, to accomplish these goals will require sacrifice and diligent application on the part of the entire present generation of Moroccans

A. *Towards an Improved Administration*

Continuous efforts are being made to improve the effectiveness of local administration, as well as its coordination, skill, and efficiency. In April 1959, for example, the Ministry of Interior announced that forty transfers, ten new appointments, and six separations from service had been effected during the initial period of Prime Minister Ibrahim's tenure. As one official indicated during a personal interview, occasionally, *qaids* who are young and inexperienced still tend to interpret complex regulations too strictly among peoples incapable of comprehending them Others are not sufficiently familiar with linguistic and cultural peculiaries of the former and hence northern zone and require lengthy periods of adjustment All too frequently, he felt, junior personnel are transferred after only brief acquaintance with their first community, thus inhibiting opportunities for local tribesmen and officials to adjust to one another. These, however, are problems not unknown to the United States, ones which time and experience may overcome.

B *Detribalization and Communal Elections*

Immediate priority is being given to preparation for nation-wide elections which are expected to bridge the gap presented by the growing pains of rural administration, as well as link the interests of government and governed. The Moroccan Ministry of Interior announced on March 24, 1959 that these elections will. (1) "discover which of Morocco's political parties has the support of the majority;" (2) "give local leaders the opportunity . . . to assume responsibility for the affairs of their communities;" and (3) "strengthen Morocco's independence and stability by diffusing leadership throughout the country" Approximately five million Moroccans—male citizens of twenty-one and over and females of twenty-five and over—will vote for local councilors and representatives.

A prerequisite for the elections, however, is completion of the present

program of detribalization in which rural collectivities will be reorganized into "communes" embracing 10-15,000 Moroccans. Candidates during the planned elections are expected to represent voters in 800 such "communes." The latter, in turn, will be sub-divided into three sections with nine to forty-five members each On questions affecting the entire "commune," the three section councils will convene and debate conjointly.

The rationale behind the reorganization is perfectly clear. The Moroccan leadership hopes to overcome tribal ethnocentricity by reorganizing communal boundaries along more logical economic, geographical, and communications lines, thus employing the mounting attractions of modern rural society and cash economy to lure tribesmen from their parochial loyalties. It is possible that, at the beginning of this reorganization, the "communes" will not always follow the newly prescribed socio-economic pattern but, rather, conform to age-old lines of organization around tribal fractions. Morocco's Undersecretary of State for Rural Affairs, Mr Hasan Zemmouri, has estimated that approximately twenty-five percent of the new "communes" to be established will remain within the framework of their former tribal structure Because of the existence of segmental opposition within tribes and fractions, however, the government has a natural ally in its efforts to weaken tribal cohesion. The traditional cleavages which exist within each tribe, often predicated upon clan and lineage, could well serve as a centrifugal factor of prime importance should the widening impact of a modern economy impel the reordering of tribal agglomerations into more meaningful types of "communes."

The proposed reorganization of the Zaer confederation is illustrative of how detribalization will affect approximately seventy-five percent of Morocco's rural inhabitants Present plans call for the regroupment of Zaer's fifteen traditional centers into six "communes" (see chart), which would solidify existing patterns of social and economic contact. The focusing of "communes" on major market towns and communications centers, such as Rommani and Had Brachoua, is both logical and necessary since they service not one tribal fraction but several Rommani's weekly market, held on Wednesday, attracts 780,000 visitors each year from neighboring tribal groups such as the Awlad Khalifa and the Awlad 'Ali Tribal fractions which journey a considerable distance to attend the Rommani *suq* would have to be incorporated in other "communes." The Awlad Amrane, for example, transit in excess of twenty kilometers and fit more conveniently within the Ezzihiliga "commune." Communications patterns among the Zaer are so far advanced, on the other hand, that the establishment of these new collectivities will not impede the inter-change of ideas and goods. Among the Zaer, as is the case for the majority of Morocco's agriculturalists, the projected detribilization and creation of elective councils would add greater impetus only to the erosive forces which are undermining traditional tribal forms and patterns of organization

Thus, given the uneven impact of Western influence and the attendant uneven repatterning of rural Moroccan society, the projected local councils are expected to follow two distinctive forms. In those regions where tribal solidarity is strongest, political office is likely to be predicated upon lineage, local age-classes, and traditional claims to supremacy hallowed by centuries of struggle for survival. Here communal councils will be tribal councils in large measure and the common ideology of the groups represented are expected to express themselves most distinctly in terms of kinship. In the second area, where detribalization is in several phases of termination, political and governmental authority can be expected to develop more modern institutionalized forms. In this type of situation, officeholders may occupy a superior rank in the vestigial lineage system, but the role he plays in the communal council frequently will be distinct from his lineage role. While lineage relationships may engage the attention of the councilor in some of these areas, his political loyalties and ideology will change as he faces questions and issues which are regional in scope In the process, the balance of power which formerly existed between competing lineages can be expected to come unhinged, especially as the political sphere of activity slowly begins to separate itself from its traditional nexus with the social, economic and spiritual realms

For the administration in Rabat, the forthcoming elections are expected to confirm the mounting suspicion that the Moroccan *fallah* and pastoralist are quite able to articulate their needs—especially for improved housing, educational facilities, irrigation ditches, seeds, agricultural credit, a reduction in taxes, and an increase in government aid. While some difficulty is anticipated in various locales, efforts to achieve agreement concerning communal leadership—as between traditional élites, *faqihs*, large landowners, educated young merchants, etc—*ad hoc* mandates are likely to be resorted to whenever family and other loyalties impede the emergence of fixed leaders. The primary question to arise after elections are held is the extent to which communal councils will operate in concert with local *qaids*, religious judges, and other officials. Moreover, considerable legislation remains to be promulgated concerning the powers, fiscal attributes, and juridical competence of the councils. One fact is clear at this juncture, however; council and *qaid* are expected to work closely and relatively harmoniously if rural administration is not to come to a standstill as a result of these projected reforms.

Efforts towards Economic and Social Progress

Rural administration in a country such as Morocco involves infinitely more than the human capacities of local officials, their proclivities to emphasize police or simple tax functions, or the prevailing bureaucratic process for establishing a coordinated line of command between isolated locales and the nation's capital. The rural awakening which is taking place throughout much of the

country imposes augmented imperatives for the administrator in the realms of education, economic and town planning, agricultural credit, mechanization of agricultural techniques where possible, and a crushing array of other manifold responsibilities Security is simply the ultimate consideration which, if presented in emergency form, is likely to be an indication that the local administrator has failed to establish some consensus with the populace he oversees. It is becoming apparent that the role of the *qaid* is expected to be that of benevolent father-confessor, intercessor with the administration of Rabat, and coordinator of efforts to establish a balance between local requirements and the capabilities of the government to establish priorities for meeting these needs.

Probably the most meaningful efforts to be undertaken thus far have been in the realm of rural education As part of its program for educational advancement the government has initiated a broadly-based program to instruct Moroccans—over eighty-five per cent of whom were illiterate in March 1956 Prodigious gains have been registered. Since independence, the country's Moroccan school population has increased by more than fifty per cent, from 378,000 in late 1956 to over 700,000 by the end of 1958. Rural Morocco has responded with such exhilaration and anticipation—in some areas in the Sous school houses were constructed by local communities before a school-master had even been assigned—that the government decided in mid-1958 to concentrate its efforts for the forthcoming year's construction and training program in these formerly disinherited parts of the country. However, it is confronted with an immense problem in training a sufficient number of monitors and teachers to meet this growing need The school-age population of Morocco is 2,000,000 today and each year this figure is augmented by 150,000 children. Schools are overcrowded and to meet the anticipated "boom" the administration estimates that at least 3,500 additional classrooms must be constructed. In the process, the teacher training program will have to be expanded and instruction intensified.

The situation among the Zaer seems to be fairly typical of the problems facing the government in creating a nation-wide educational system. Schooling for children is much sought after by parents as a means of improving the status and position of their offspring in the community—as well as enhancing the family's standing There is less concern with the content and form of education than with the acquisition of baccalaureate degrees. Since 1956, the school population has swollen to 2,000 pupils over the past several years—overburdening a teaching staff of 55. Instruction is by rote at the initial stages, both in French and Arabic. Age-groups in each class vary considerably with older children occasionally being mixed with much younger Moroccans. Unlike the cities, separation of the sexes is observed, thus further overburdening the local system. This traditional segregation has long-term significance for the community as a whole. For young girls are withdrawn from classes as soon as

they reach puberty and returned to the isolation and protection of the family. Consequently it is rare to find young girls proceeding to advanced instruction and the higher degrees. This situation places the female segment of the population—which wields considerable influence in family matters—in the position of defenders of tradition, superstitions, religious forms, and obscurantist policies Ironically, those who have more to gain through change, are its strongest opponents.

The government's educational program is related, in substantial measure, to its efforts to improve living levels in rural Morocco as a means of reducing the exodus to the cities which has been taking place since World War II. Mounting unemployment and social dislocation in urban centers impel sustained efforts to make life in rural Morocco more attractive wherever possible. However, serious obstacles exist. Approximately 2,000,000 Moroccans work as day laborers or share-croppers (*khammes*). The average annual income of a laborer is estimated at only 20-30,000 francs, barely sufficient to maintain a family of five. Those who possess small holdings of five to ten hectares of land, accounting for almost one-half of Morocco's utilizable land area, find them insufficient to produce an adequate family income. These property holders also frequently hire themselves out as day laborers. However, the average agricultural season is approximately six months each year, producing underemployment, a major concern for rural administrators and agriculturalists alike.

The Moroccan Government has attempted to modernize and improve traditional farming techniques through its "Operation Labor" program. As presently conceived, farmers are being induced to pool their small holdings in order that modern techniques be introduced in an effort to increase productivity. Tractors, steel plows and other modern farm equipment are being introduced, as well as technical advice and instruction, in an effort to demonstrate that consolidated holdings and intelligent planning can materially improve the life of the farmer. A minimum charge is carried by the farmer for the use of this modern equipment, much of which has been provided by the United States Government. While only 350,000 hectares of land have been affected to date, it is hoped that the program will be expanded rapidly over the next several years. A serious struggle against the fragmentation of lands—the product of the present system of inheritance—confronts the government. Nor is it assured that Morocco's farmers will all welcome the tractor and the modern plow. Agriculture is a way of life, evolved through the centuries, which changes only grudgingly. Indeed, there is little room for certainty concerning the effectiveness of modern techniques on the part of the average Western observer. Serious difficulties often arise. For example the Western variety of metal plow which is introduced indiscriminately into rural areas can engender unhappy results threatening the program of modernization. In some regions, the soil is too sandy and

RABAT PROVINCE

Proposed Commune	Center	Number of Inhabitants	Markets
1) Rommani	Rommani	13,200 Electors 6,226	Ain Sbit Merchouch Rommani
2) Brachoua	Had Brachoua	11,059 Electors 4,890	Had Brachoua
3) Nejda	Moulay Idris Aghbal	10,742 Electors 3,959	Moulay Idris Aghbal Neida
4) Guefiane	Had Ghoualem	8,665 Electors 4,082	Had des Ghoualem Tleta de Sibara
5) Ezzihiliga	Christian	9,878 Electors 5,255	Khemis de Ezzihiliga
6) Sidi Bettache	Sidi Bettache	8,947 Electors 2,797	Sidi Bettache Bir el Keld

ZAERS-ROMMANI DISTRICT

Resources of Markets	Comparison with former Organization
Each market produces approximately 1.5 million francs per year in taxes.	The new commune is to incorporate the four former centers of Od Khalifa de Merchouch, Od Ali and Merrakchia, as well as Rommani
Local markets produce 13 million francs in taxes	No change in previous areas
Both *suqs* provide 1 75 million francs each year.	Replace the two former communes of Od Aziz and Nejda, as well as the *Centre* of Aghbal
850,000 francs each	Replace the three former communes of Ghoualem, Rouached, and Sibara
1 2 million annually	Replace the communes of M'ramcha, Od Moussa, and Od Amrane, as well as the *Centre* of Ezzihiliga
1 5 million each	Replace the two former communes of Hlalif and Sidi Bettache.

porous for metal plows, lending itself more profitably to the traditional *araire.* In other areas, the introduction of modern agricultural machinery does not guarantee increased productivity without proper seed selection, crop rotation, and adequate rainfall.

The administration's efforts to improve agricultural techniques and expand educational opportunities are an indication that it is more concerned with *processes* rather than simple *forms.* Numerous other programs have been evolved to bring greater benefits to Morocco's rural population, including the scores of work centers, community development pilot stations (in conjunction with an expert United Nations staff), and the national anti-illiteracy campaign for adults. In process of change is the traditional concept of the relationship of government to the basic elements of national society. The once-ubiquitous communications gap between *qaid* and *fallah* is no longer welcome and, as a result, the concept of governmental roles and responsibilities is undergoing revision Rural administration is evolving from its once authoritarian pattern and is expected to be predicated upon the principle of communal participation and rapport in elective organs. Rural society is not to be reshaped unilaterally by secular and religious elites imposing alien values and institutions While the administration at Rabat does not intend to abdicate its power as final political arbiter and prime mover in forcing the pace of economic and social evolution, it is willing to cede a measure of choice and decision-making to the planned "communes" How much and in which fields remain to be worked out in the future However, one fact is clear, rural Morocco is politically emergent and wishes to establish its own canons of choice. Indeed, if the government expects the rural population to crystallize its opinions on major issues, the latter, in turn, expect local opinions to count in government councils

In general, rural administration in most Middle Eastern nations is a highly personalized struggle by each official to create a role for himself in the life of the community to which he is assigned Impersonal governmental institutions and procedures are difficult to create Policies and procedures do not command support in themselves, they must be made meaningful in the total context of community lifeways To gain acceptance, they must be introduced by officials who have committed themselves fully to local advancement. Rural administration, hence, is the drama in microcosm of young men in search of a favorable audience The poorly-endowed or personally-ambitious official rules and exercises authority with unbending taciturnity, meting out justice much as would a bored police magistrate. The wise and the knowledgeable *qaid* acts with forbearance and insight concerning the dynamics of local customs and institutions Rural administration, then, is the aggregate of all these microcosmic struggles in varied rural environments which give rise to hope and frustration, victory and defeat. The sum total cannot be computed until the processes alluded to above have run their natural course.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER

Comment and Chronology

Algeria

Again, as in the Spring of 1958, the current affairs of France have been centered in Algeria The former crisis put an end to the Fourth Republic and made Charles de Gaulle Head of State of the Fifth, the latter, for the time being, has ended with de Gaulle's assumption of full powers—"a reluctant dictator" for a year to come

One striking difference between the two occasions was the attitude of urban Arab Algerians toward the constituted authority. in 1958 there was some show of solidarity between Arab and French elements in favor of de Gaulle, in January 1960 the French rebels against de Gaulle were unable to rally to their cause more than a few dozens of the curious among the Arabs It appears that the difference lay largely in the man In spite of his pronouncements *"que d'aucuns qualifient de sybillines,"* as al-Mahdi bin Barqa has put it, the Arabs of Algeria and the rest of the Maghrib trust Charles de Gaulle more than they do any other Frenchman

The arrest, following the recent abortive revolt, of such men as Alain de Serigny, the once powerful editor of *L'Echo d'Alger,* will perhaps serve as an earnest of de Gaulle's intentions in any pourparlers between the French Government and the 'Abbas Provisional Government of Algeria If these talks are to be 'technical" rather than "political," that is, if they are to consider only the modalities of a referendum, not many will be able to perceive a difference that is substantive If what the French President meant when he recently said he wished "the most French solution" of the impasse—integration, at least to the French ears—then one may say that it is a desire and not a determination So it sounded

Now that M. Jacques Soustelle is no longer part of the de Gaulle régime, it is worth while considering the extent to which the French of the Métropole will insist upon retention of Saharan Algeria as a part of France, *tout court,* no matter what the results of a referendum might be. There has been a great deal of discussion concerning a federal or cantonal state, with lines drawn to accommodate local preponderances of Europeans in Algeria. If the idea were carried out literally, then "cantons" could be carved out of regions around the oil installations of Hassi Mas'ud, and even the atomic installations at Reggan, if these are to be more or less permanent, and emerge from a referendum as French as the Elysée

It was several years ago that the proposal for a state of two nationalities was first made for Algeria, the idea may have derived from the late Judah Magnes' hope for two nationalities in Palestine The principal difficulty of the arrangement is that it presupposes the kind of basic historical identity which exists, say among French-, Italian-, and German-speaking inhabitants of Switzerland. But federalism is only one of the possible alternatives and negotiators working in good faith can discover the means to protect the legitimate interests of nine million Arabs and one million Europeans.

Cyprus

Professor Roy Fairfield, writing in the Summer 1959 issue of the *Journal,* enumerated the problems that remained after the February 19 agreement on Cypriot independence He foresaw difficulties " . if the agreements pertaining to the air and naval bases run afoul of technical difficulties." (p 245) Now this has happened, and independence, due on February 19, 1960, has been twice postponed, the last time indefinitely. The "technical difficulty" concerns the size of the reserved territories and, at this writing, the two parties

are so far apart on the issue that compromise seems difficult indeed The public statements of Archbishop—President-elect Makarios and Mr Selwyn Lloyd do not leave much room for maneuver The desire of the British to be rid of one of its most unsatisfactory colonial situations and the wish of the Cypriots for independence as soon as possible are, however, still positive negotiating elements

Harley C Stevens

The death of Harley C Stevens on December 26, 1959, was a grievous loss to the Middle East Institute A friend from its early days, he had, during the past two years, also been a member of the Institute's Board of Governors and gave freely of his time and energy in that capacity Though he had recently been severely ill, his efforts did not flag

Particularly to the publication activities of the Institute is this loss keenly felt It was only in the Summer 1959 issue of the *Journal* that Mr Stevens, freed of corporate responsibilities, wrote "Some Reflections on the First Arab Petroleum Congress," an article which has been widely noted since From his own resources and by solicitation from others, he had helped to maintain the book publication program of the Institute In his support of its basic ideal, that the Middle East deserves "such thoughtful attention as can be initiated and encouraged" in this country, Harley Stevens was a strong pillar and will be much missed

Notice to Readers

With the forthcoming Spring issue, the *Journal* will inaugurate a different version of its section heretofore labelled ' Reader's Commentary " Now to be called "Communications,' this section invites more general comment than has been our practice in the past and letters other than those concerning a previous article in the *Journal* are welcome

Such communications as that which will appear in the Spring, on the anniversary of an academic institution, or other news of interest both to professionals in Middle East matters and to laymen, are cordially invited The *Journal* cannot, of course, undertake to print all those received but, within space limitations, the editors look forward to expanded service for readers

Chronology

September 16, 1959 - December 15, 1959

General

1959

Sept 16 United States officials expressed the hope that Arab leaders would not reject out of hand President de Gaulle's plan for ending the Algerian war

France will inform the General Assembly of President de Gaulle's plan for Algeria but will not take part in the Assembly debate on Algeria, it was learned

President Charles de Gaulle promised to let the people of Algeria choose their own future—even independence—within four years after the restoration of peace there.

Sept 17 Mr Christian Herter, US Secretary of State, said at the UN General Assembly that the US continued to support the principle of freedom of passage through the Suez Canal

President Eisenhower endorsed the plan as "completely in accord with our hopes to see proclaimed a just and liberal program for Algeria"

The Spanish Government has passed up a chance to cooperate with French, British, West German and Italian interests in the exploitation of rich iron ore fields in northwest Africa

Sept 22 A State Department official denied that the US had strongly urged the Algerian rebels to accept the de Gaulle peace proposals

Secretary of State Christian A Herter said that he hoped nothing would be done in the UN to prejudice the "just and peaceful solution for Algeria" contained in the de Gaulle plan

Sept 25 France's delegation walked out of the General Assembly in protest against an Arab statement picturing the French Army in Algeria as torturers with a "thirst for blood"

Oct 1 The Sudan and Libya appealed to France to accept an offer by the Algerian rebel government to begin discussions on the application of self-determination

Oct 3 Following the decisions of the Arab League Higher Economic Council, the first meeting of the provisional Arab Economic Council began in Beirut with the stated purpose of co-ordinating the economic and social policies of the Arab states

Oct 8 The US endorsed very strongly the election of Turkey to the Security Council because she had a "good record of cooperation" with UN programs

Oct 9. President Eisenhower joined with the CENTO's Council of Ministers in praising Iran's stand against furious Soviet propaganda attacks

The CENTO's seventh session which began on October 7 ended today, in Washington.

Oct 14 Eight members of the Gaullist group in the French National Assembly broke away from the group because they were not being allowed to defend Algeria's integration with France

Oct 16 The French National Assembly gave President Charles de Gaulle an overwhelming vote of confidence—441-23

Oct 18 The Council of the Arab League decided to make a grant of 12,000,000 Egyptian pounds in response to the Algerian Government's request

French manufacturers of Renault automobile parts have stopped supplying parts to the Israeli concern that was assembling the automobiles in Haifa

Oct 19 Turkey took a slight lead over Poland in the race for a seat in the Security Council

A Gaullist leader confirmed reports that Right-wing forces in Algiers and Paris had plotted to overthrow the Government of Premier Michel Debré

Oct. 20. The Franco-Israeli Alliance Committee in Paris decided to campaign for reversal of the Renault withdrawal from Israel

Oct. 27 A draft agreement for a defense alliance between Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, as stipulated in the London Agreement on Cyprus, was signed in Athens by representatives of the three countries, a joint communiqué stated

Oct 30 The US reiterated its intention of withdrawing from Morocco its naval and air bases

Ahmad Shukayri of Saudi Arabia denounced a suggestion by Israel that a regional arms limitation plan for the Middle East be considered while negotiations over world disarmament were proceeding

Nov 1 The nine African states members of the UN declared that there was now hope for a just, peaceful and democratic solution in Algeria, now that it has accepted the principle of self-determination

Nov. 2 Spain sent notes to all Arab League member countries assuring them that Spain was anxious to preserve good relations with the Arab countries.

Nov 4 The Ford Foundation announced in New York a grant of $745,000 for five projects in Jordan and the UAR Aid will be given to a

pilot agricultural project in Jordan and for economic advisers to the Jordanian Government

Nov 11 Pakistan proposed the creation of an international compensatory fund to cushion the financial pressure against countries producing primary commodities

Nov 14 The ninth conference of Arab Chambers of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry, held in Kuwayt for a progress review of the various proposals for economic cooperation between Arab countries, has been the subject of special interest because for the first time the host country was a Persian Gulf emirate, and secondly, the meeting was attended by a large delegation from Iraq

Nov 25 Britain said it would not vote for a proposal to ask the UN Secretary General to consult member governments on developing the petroleum industry in under-developed countries

Nov 27 Algerian nationalists held strategy sessions with their Asian and African supporters, planning for a full scale debate in the General Assembly's Political Committee

Nov 28 Delegations to the UN have decided to give priority to the Algerian debate

Nov 30 Tunisia urged France to agree to negotiations with Algerian rebel leaders on a cease-fire and arrangements for a referendum that would decide Algeria's status

Dec 1 Turkey resumed her lead against Poland but did not get the sufficient majority to win the seat on the Security Council A compromise is thought inevitable

Dec 2 In a debate in the General Assembly's Legal Committee on a proposed study of the status of historic waters and historic bays, Israel and the Arab States clashed over shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba

Twenty-one Asian and African states asked the UN to urge France and the Algerian people to begin informal discussions about a cease-fire and self-determination for Algeria

Dec 3 Pakistan moved to preserve her interest in Ladakh, now in dispute between India and Communist China

France opposed the Asian-African resolution to the UN General Assembly because its call for 'informal discussions' was tantamount to recognition of the Provisional Government as the actual administration in Algeria

Dec 4 Lieutenant General E L. M Burns of Canada has resigned his post as Commander of the UNEF in the Middle East He will represent his country in disarmament talks in Geneva early next year

Algerian representatives in the UN said that the Algerian Provisional Government will not discuss a cease-fire with France without first having guarantees of an impartial referendum in Algeria

The Soviet Minister of Geology reported that discoveries of oil and gas deposits in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia promised to make those areas among the richest in the Soviet Union

Dec 5 France renewed her protest to a resolution of the UN on a settlement of the war in Algeria

Dec 6 Premier Michel Debré inaugurated a 400-mile pipeline carrying oil from Hassi-Messaoud to Bougie and reaffirmed his Government's determination to stay in Algeria

Dec 7 The US has approved a $22,000,000 loan for Pakistan and has signed a new agreement to guarantee private American investment in India.

Talks on Algeria were urged by the UN Political Committee by a vote of 38 to 26 with France absent

Dec 12 The Algerian issue was shelved by the UN

Aden

(*See also*, Yemen)

1959

Sept 28 The sultan of Lahij, Fahd bin 'Ali, laid the foundation stone of Ittihad city, a new Aden Federation capital, at Bir Ahmad

Oct 1 Aden colony's 16-month-old state of emergency was ended today

Oct 20: Employees at the Crescent Hotel are striking for more money and shorter hours The management claims that one third of them have remained at work Local employees of the British Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes who had been on strike for a week returned to work today

Oct 26 Two more protectorates will soon join the West Aden federation They are the Muflihi shaykhdom, and the Aqrabi shaykhdom

Nov. 9 The council of the Federation of the Arab Amirates of the South opened its first meeting in Aden

About 500 oil workers in Aden went on a 48-hour strike in response to an appeal by the BP Aden Employees Union in demand for better conditions

Nov 11 The strikers continued their strike for another three days while European employees handled the bunkering operations

Nov. 14· As oil workers continue their strike the oil company announced that it would be unable to bunker merchant ships at Aden until there was a general return to work.

Nov 25· A trades union mission en route to Saudi Arabia, the UAR, Lebanon, west Europe and England appealed to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in Brussels, for money for Aden's "starving strikers"

Nov 27. Sir William Luce, Governor of Aden, returned from his visit to the British chargé d'affaires in Yemen.

Dec 1 The Governor of Aden flew to Thamud on a special tour. A British oil team is exploring the area for oil

Dec. 9· The BP Employees Union decided to return to work

Afghanistan

(*See also*, Pakistan)

1959

Sept 17 In a joint statement at the conclusion of their talks in Kabul, the Prime Ministers of India and Afghanistan said that they had agreed that the existing cordial relations between the two countries "should be sustained and enlarged by increased cultural cooperation and promotion of mutual trade"

Oct 2 Ho Ting, the Chinese Ambassador to Afghanistan, gave a reception in Kabul on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the CPR Acting Foreign Minister Ali Muhammad Khan, cabinet ministers, chief of the general staff, and other high-ranking officials and officers and diplomatic representatives were present

Nov 8. Ten leading *maliks* of the Mangal tribe of Afghanistan, who sought refuge in Pakistan, reported that 90 persons belonging to their tribe had been killed in a wave of repressions let loose by the Afghan army in their area, it was reported in Karachi

Nov 12 A meeting of tribesmen of the Malakand Agency was held at Tokarkand (?) in which they expressed resentment and indignation over the persecution of the Pakhtoons by the Afghan Government, it was learned in Karachi

Nov 21· Trade circles in Karachi disclaimed imaginary restrictions on Afghanistan's transit trade through Pakistan as persistently referred to by Kabul radio reports. They indicated an increase in the volume of imports and exports to and from Afghanistan

Nov 22 Another 180 Mangal tribesmen have crossed into Pakistan during the last three days, it was reported in Karachi

Dec 1 Sardar Muhammad Naim, Afghan foreign minister, has formally accepted an invitation to visit Pakistan, a Kabul radio announcement stated. This visit was sparked by President Ayub's bid to foster friendly relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan

Dec 9 President Eisenhower spent six hours in Kabul and was hailed by applauding tribesmen and villagers He noted Soviet influence on Afghanistan, especially in her military equipment.

In a joint communiqué President Eisenhower and King Muhammad Zahir of Afghanistan endorsed unqualifiedly the principles of the UN Charter as standards for international behavior The former gave assurances of an American desire to continue to assist Afghanistan economically

Algeria

(*See also* General, Iraq)

1959

Sept 16 In a television and radio address to France and Algeria, President de Gaulle promised Algerians self-determination within four years of a cessation of the fighting

Sept 17. French soldiers early this morning and again tonight plastered the walls of nearly every building in downtown Algiers with posters advocating Algeria's integration with France

Sept. 18: The Algiers Public Safety Committee tonight attacked President de Gaulle's offer to Algeria of independence, semi-autonomy or union with France as "this new demoniacal wager" A communiqué by the right-wing settlers' group said it "proclaims its faith in integration and calls for a union of the population in this fight for French Algeria"

French troops killed 41 Algerian insurgents and captured five in the past 24 hours, it was learned in Algiers today

Sept 21: General Maurice Challe, French commander in chief in Algeria, told his troops that "the struggle against the rebellion will be intensified" until "total pacification" is reached.

Sept. 24· Twenty-six persons were killed by insurgents who ambushed a French convoy near Aflou, about 190 miles south of Algiers

Sept. 27 Algiers waited tensely today for nationalist rebel leaders to reply to President de Gaulle's offer of self-determination for Algeria

Algiers experienced its fifth bomb incident in three days

Sept 28· Replying in Tunis to President de Gaulle's offer of self-determination, the Algerian Provisional Government said it was ready to pursue the struggle but would neglect nothing which might lead to peace

An Information Ministry spokesman disclosed in Paris today that the French Government will officially ignore the declaration in Tunis by the Algerian Provisional Government.

Premier Farhat 'Abbas accepted the principle of self-determination and said his régime was ready to discuss the political and military conditions of a cease-fire and the application of self-determination

Conservative Europeans in Algeria for the most part breathed a sigh of relief in the hope that a negotiated settlement would result in view of the reply of the Algerian Provisional Government to the de Gaulle offer, and in Morocco, Moroccan royal palace and political leaders welcomed the Algerian nationalist declaration as a "positive factor toward a solution" of the Algerian problem

Sept. 30 President Charles de Gaulle was accused of "treason" in Algiers today in a public statement by Pierre Lagaillarde, Deputy from Algiers

in the French National Assembly saying that de Gaulle started a process of a deliberate "sell out of Algeria immediately after coming to power

Mohan Ait al Hocine, head of the Algerian rebel organization in the Paris suburbs was arrested in Paris by French police

Oct 1 Electric light and power over a wide area in the Blida region were cut off during the night when insurgents blew up a transformer and cut two main power lines

French army headquarters said that Tunisian troops had been battling since September 28 against Algerian insurgent units north of Haidra and several Tunisians had been wounded

Oct 3 All the speakers at an Algiers meeting of 250 mayors and members of the French National Assembly declared themselves pledged to the integration of Algeria with France and repudiated any possibility of another solution

Oct 5 The French Army produced today a document purporting to show that 483 rebel fighters had been executed by their commander for advocating cease fire talks with France

Oct 11 Muslim rebels stepped up their activities in Algeria this weekend resulting in the death of eight persons it was reported in Algiers

A group of French paratroopers on leave clashed with Muslim civilians after six paratroopers had been wounded in a terrorist attack

Oct 12 M Noel Fieschi, mayor of Behagle, east Algeria, and his wife were shot dead by insurgents

Oct 13 The French Government again offered safe conduct to leaders of the Algerian rebels to come to France to discuss a cease fire

Oct 19 French troops killed or captured a total of 538 rebels in 233 operations in Algeria last week, fifty-six French soldiers died the Army announced

Oct 21 Premier Farhat 'Abbas, in an interview with the Arabic daily *Al-Tahrir*, disclosed that foreign investments in the Sahara would be respected in independent Algeria on the condition that these investments do not interfere with the right of ownership

Oct 23 Thirty nationalist insurgents were killed in a forty-eight hour battle that ended in Oran today, French military sources reported

Oct 24 More than two-thirds of the Senators representing Algeria and the Sahara in the French upper house appealed tonight for a cease-fire between French troops and Muslim insurgents in Algeria

Revised editions of *L'Express* and *France Observateur* were seized today by French authorities because they contained reprints about an alleged plot to overthrow the French Government

Oct 25 Two important chapters of Right-wing political organizations of the European opposition block in Algiers have decided to accept the de Gaulle offer it was learned in Algiers today

Meanwhile, the French army intensified a "psychological warfare" campaign against the insurgents in Algeria

Oct 28 President Charles de Gaulle called on the French Army and the civil administration in Algeria tonight for "devotion" and "discipline" in seeking an end to the rebellion, it was reported in Paris

Paul Delouvrier, France's chief executive in Algeria, called in about 300 departmental heads of the civil administration and lectured them on the meaning of General de Gaulle's policies

Oct 29 French Army commanding officers expressed confidence and optimism that a cease-fire would not shake the army's control of Algerian territory

Oct 30 In a speech at Algiers, French Delegate General Paul Delouvrier vowed that France and her army would stay in Algeria

Oct 31 The heavy cost, human and financial, of the Algerian war was examined by *Le Monde* today on the eve of the conflict's fifth anniversary

Nov 1 At a Cairo reception to commemorate the anniversary of the Algerian war, the Minister of Culture in the Provisional Government, Sayyid Tawfiq al-Mendani, declared that the Algerians will go on fighting until final liberation A solution of the war would only come if the French agreed to negotiate with the Provisional Government on conditions for a cease-fire and guarantees for a referendum on the future of the Algerian people

Nov 3 The French Communist party conceded, after Moscow lauded the de Gaulle plan, that they had erred in attacking it

Nov 4 In Algiers, Paul Delouvrier announced that the French Government intended to spend the equivalent of $506,600,000 in 1960 for the economic and social development of Algeria, an increase of 38 per cent over the current year

Nov 5 French military planes have dispersed a nationalist rebel caravan of 120 men near Bir Djedid, a French Army spokesman announced

Nov 6 The French Army announced in Algiers the death of Major Mira, nationalist rebel commander in the Kabylia area of northern Algeria It asserted that all six rebel zones now were without field commanders

Communist China has given the Algerian nationalist insurgents the equivalent of $10,000,000 in credits for the purchase of war materials or to carry out propaganda and administration, usually reliable sources in Tunis said today

Nov 7 Two Algerian rebel chiefs were killed by French forces tonight at Oran Willaya district

Nov 11 Shouts of "de Gaulle to the gallows" echoed through downtown Algiers for nearly three hours this morning, but extremist demonstrators found no response from the rest of the populace

Right-wing opponents of President de Gaulle's efforts to end the war with the Algerian rebels indicated that they were not giving up the fight it was learned in Paris today

Nov 18 It was reported in Hassi-Messaoud that

everything or nearly everything was ready for the December 5 dedication of the new pipeline which would run from that point to Bougie on the Mediterranean Coast

Nov 19 Oil from Hassi-Messaoud reached its terminal, the Algerian port of Bougie today after flowing through 410 miles of a new twenty-four-inch pipeline

Nov 22 An organization of armed European settlers called on its members today to form combat troops to be ready to fight to keep Algeria French They number 600 members in Algiers and an undisclosed number in other areas of Algiera

Nov 23 Three Algerian nationalist leaders arrived in New York for the UN General Assembly debate on Algeria

Nov 28 The Algerian forces, bolstered with arms and reinforcements from Tunisia and Morocco, were repelled by French forces, a French Army source reported

In Paris, Hajj Masali, 60-year-old leader of the Algerian Nationalist Movement which is at odds with the dominant National Liberation Front, today called for a roundtable discussion of Algeria's future by all interested parties

Dec 2. A student was killed and 7 other persons were wounded in Algiers when two homemade time bombs exploded in front of the university entrance a few moments before the 9 o'clock start of classes

Dec 6 Five Algerians were killed in a hit-and-run attack on a regrouping center for persons loyal to the French Government, it was announced in Algiers today

Dec 9 French troops launched a new offensive in east Algeria to clear some of the strongest insurgent pockets, French sources in Algiers reported Twelve thousand parachutists, legionnaires, and sharp shooters were taking part

Dec 10 The IBRD made a loan equivalent to US $50 million to assist in financing the construction and operation of the 412-mile pipeline to bring crude oil from Hassi-Messaoud to Bougie

Dec 12 About 250 tons of high explosive destined for the Algerian nationalist insurgents has been found aboard a Dutch ship, French authorities in Algiers reported

Dec 14 Conservative Europeans in Algiers ever fearful of a "sell-out" by Paris studied today the impact that the planned transformation of the French Community might have on the future of Algeria

Cyprus

(*See also,* Turkey)

1959

Oct 5 Archbishop Makarios and General Grivas are scheduled to meet in the next few days at Rhodes, it was announced in Athens today

Oct. 7 At their meeting at Rhodes, the two Cypriote leaders declared that "all our misunderstandings (on the London agreement split) have been settled"

Oct. 8 A second round of talks between the two Cypriote leaders aimed at ending their dispute over the Cyprus settlement took place at Rhodes.

Oct. 9 Archbishop Makarios and General Grivas ended their personal peace conference with a joint call for "undisturbed peace and unity" in Cyprus

Oct 13 Cyprus will go to the polls on December 13 to elect a President and Vice President, it was announced at Nicosia

Oct 18 Archbishop Makarios and Dr Fazil Kuchuk conferred today amid reports of growing strains between Turkey and Greece over the coming independence of Cyprus

A Turkish motor vessel was scuttled off the coast of Nicosia as it was being searched by a Royal Naval boarding party. Two cases of ammunition were seized before it sank Three members of the crew were arrested

Oct 21 Archbishop Makarios suspended the talks on the Constitution for an independent Cyprus today in protest against alleged arms smuggling by Turkish Cypriotes

It was reported in Athens that General Grivas is preparing to make his bid for power to rule Greece The details were kept secret

Oct. 22 The suspension of talks created an air of tension in Nicosia British patrols were alerted and arms surrender was asked as a condition for further talks

It was reported in Athens that the Greeks are determined to clear up the arms-smuggling issue even at the cost of holding up Cyprus agreements The suspension of talks was also supported

Oct 23 A statement by the Turkish Government made public in Nicosia denied that Turkey had ever encouraged illegal shipment of arms into Cyprus and it repeated the Turkish Government's pledge to cooperate fully in implementing the independence plan

Oct. 24 The intercommunal tensions of the week appear to be waning, it was reported in Nicosia today The Constitutional Commission is still seriously deadlocked over the division of executive powers

Oct 25 Archbishop Makarios criticized the clamor over the independence issue and expressed his optimism that the island would become a republic next February 19

Oct. 27 Dr Kuchuk appealed to the Turkish com-

munity today to surrender arms and explosives. A similar appeal by Archbishop Makarios is understood to be made soon

Oct. 29 Archbishop Makarios announced tonight that work on the Constitution for the Cyprus republic would be resumed next week

Oct 30 Sir Hugh Foot, Governor of Cyprus, issued an order in-council today authorizing special courts to continue in operation throughout the island for six months

Nov 9 The transitional Cabinet of Cyprus approved today a bill providing for the election December 13 of the island s first President

Nov. 19 Communications Minister Andonis Georgiades has resigned from the Cyprus transitional Cabinet, it was announced tonight

Dec. 4 Governor Sir Hugh Foot ended today the four-year old state of emergency in Cyprus

Dec 12 Election predictions indicate that Archbishop Makarios is expected to be elected

Dec 13 Cypriotes go to the polls Several minor clashes between Left and Right wing factions were reported

Dec 14 Archbishop Makarios defeats John Clerides by a two to-one vote, it was announced in Nicosia Incomplete returns showed 144,501 votes for the Archbishop and 71,753 for John Clerides

The Vice President of the republic will be Dr Fazil Kuchuk, chosen by popular acclamation by the Turkish population which was not allowed to vote in the Presidential election

Ethiopia and the Somalilands

1959

Oct 16 Trygve Lie arrived in Addis Ababa on his mission to arbitrate in the dispute between Ethiopia and Italy over demarcation of the Ethiopian-Somalia border

Oct 17 Trygve Lie had talks in Addis Ababa with Government leaders and lunched with Emperor Haile Selassie

Nov 5 A troupe of 20 Russian singers, dancers, acrobats, jugglers and magicians began their performance in the largest auditorium of Addis Ababa as part of the Soviet-Ethiopian cultural exchange agreement

Nov 9 Italy told the Trusteeship Committee that Somalia would be ready for independence before Dec 2, 1960

Nov 11: An eight-man Soviet delegation of economic experts arrived in Addis Ababa

Nov 12 A new Franco-Ethiopian agreement for the railway between Jibuti (in French Somaliland) to Addis Ababa was signed in Addis Ababa altering the status of the *Compagnie du Chemin de Fer Franco-Ethiopien* which has operated the railway for over 50 years

Dec 2 Economic experts of nine countries and territories met in Addis Ababa to discuss economic planning problems of Africa

Dec. 3: Upon his departure after a three-day visit as the guest of Emperor Haile Selassie, Prince Bertil of Sweden said he was happy that many Swedes are contributing to the development of the Ethiopian defense forces

Dec. 4: Sharp clashes have occurred between Ethiopian Somali tribesmen and Somali tribesmen from British Somaliland

Dec 5 The General Assembly voted today to move up to next July 1 the date for the independence of Somalia

Dec 12 A group of Soviet tourists are expected in Addis Ababa They include workers, journalists, scientists, teachers and musicians

Iran

1959

Sept 16 Ambassador Nikolai M Pegov returned to Teheran today to begin what political observers believe to be talks on improving Soviet-Iranian relations

The NIOC announced that a $6,000,000 contract had been awarded to the US firm William Brothers for the construction of an eight-inch, 240-mile oil pipeline from Teheran to Shahrud

Sept 22 Prime Minister Nehru declared at a Teheran press conference about the CENTO that he has "always been opposed to pacts A change of name makes no difference"

Sept 26 Shah Mohammad Riza Pahlevi said today that Iran would "gladly welcome any Soviet offer of economic aid to Iran in the form of credits for the purchase of industrial goods"

Sept 29 In an effort to avoid the possible escape of any persons involved in an alleged multimillion dollar 'misappropriation" of company property, the Abadan Public Prosecutor banned the departure of foreign employees of the Consortium of Iranian Oil Operating Companies in Abadan

Oct 4 Premier Eghbal arrived in New York to attend the CENTO meeting in Washington

Oct 12 The Iran Pan-American Oil Company spudded a well about 60 miles to the west of Kharg Island, it was reported.

Oct 17 An agreement was signed for construction of an Iranian-Turkish railway, it was announced

Nov 9 President Mohammad Ayub Khan of Pakistan arrived in Teheran for a state visit

Nov 11 Informed sources reported that the Soviet Union has offered Iran 85 per cent share of profits in return for oil-exploration rights in northern Iran on condition that foreign powers are prevented from setting up military bases there

Nov 17 President Mohammad Ayub Khan, Premier Adnan Menderes and the Shah of Iran met at Teheran for five hours and in a communiqué "expressed their firm belief in the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other countries" and "affirmed their desire to do everything possible

to maintain peace and stability in this area."

Nov 28: At a press conference the Shah stated that through CENTO, Iran had a prime interest in consolidating communications and transport with other CENTO countries; that Iran was only responsible for the maintenance of its army and not for purchase of arms.

Dec 9: President Eisenhower will address a joint session of the Majlis (Parliament) at Teheran on Monday upon the request of the Iranian Government, it was announced at Teheran today.

Dec. 13: In an interview prior to the arrival of President Eisenhower, the Shah of Iran declared that he wants the United states to strengthen his country's army and air force, he also spoke of his "great plans" for increasing social justice and raising the standard of living mainly by reinvesting oil revenues in industry and agriculture.

Dec. 14: President Eisenhower, in a five-and-three-quarter-hour stopover at Teheran reminded the Iranians that "military strength alone" could not insure their security and that freedom could still be lost if the "basic aspirations of humanity" were not served. A joint communiqué endorsed CENTO, the principle of negotiation and disarmament with adequate controls.

Iraq

(*See also,* Algeria)

1959

Sept 16: The "people's court" sentenced Nadhim al-Tabaqjali, formerly commander of the Second Division in Kirkuk, Colonel Rifa't al-Hajj Sirri, formerly head of army intelligence in Baghdad, Lieut-Colonel 'Aziz Ahmad Shahab, and Captain Da'ud Sayyid Khalil to death before a firing squad for complicity in the Mosul revolt last March.

General 'Abdi said that the Iraqi airports would now remain open at all times.

Sept 19: The Cairo weekly *Akhbar al-Yawm* reported that General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim's request for an IPC loan of ID 50,000,000(sic) was refused and that he subsequently threatened to nationalize the company. Under pressure from the British Ambassador, IPC agreed to make the loan on condition that the Government should give a written undertaking to guarantee the security of IPC's pipelines traversing the Syrian region to Lebanon. The guarantee was granted.

Sept. 23. A report from Baghdad states that it has been decided to form a board of directors for the General Petroleum Authority in Iraq the members of which will be appointed by the Iraqi Council of Ministers and their term of office will be three years.

Sept 24: The Burden-Turiff construction company will build 314 miles of oil pipeline for Iraq for the IPC, it was reported in London.

The Iraqi Cabinet has approved a draft law creating Iraq's first news agency, it was disclosed in Baghdad.

Sept. 28: A storm of indignation arose in Cairo upon the execution of thirteen Arab nationalist officers implicated in the Mosul revolt and, in Baghdad, public demonstrations were held against General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim's order of execution. Meanwhile the Communist daily *Ittihad Al Sha'b* defended the executions as "prudent and necessary."

Sept 29: A court-martial sentenced ten persons to prison terms ranging from six months to four years at hard labor today for attacking the house of the President of a previous court-martial.

Iraq called on France to accept the offer of the Algerian Provisional Government to negotiate a cease-fire and conditions for self-determination in Algeria.

Oct 1: A large part of the middle class, including business men, some religious leaders and professional men expressed their discontent over General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim's indifferent stand against the Reds.

Oct 5. Anti-Reds in Iraq are gaining influence over professional bodies. They recently gained control of the small but influential lawyers association and are continuing their efforts to counteract the Communists move to gain power in these organizations.

Oct 7. The Baghdad radio announced that General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim was wounded in the shoulder this evening when a "vicious hand" fired several shots at his car in Baghdad. His condition was declared "very good."

Oct 8: The army and police appeared to be in full control of Baghdad today following the failure of an attempt to assassinate General Qasim. Meanwhile, President Eisenhower sent a message of sympathy. The General's condition was "good."

Oct 11: Popular sympathy over the attempted assassination has, in the opinion of diplomats, helped to stabilize General Qasim's régime while US analysts expressed the gloomy view that his régime was being maneuvered into a position from which Communists could at some future time take over.

Oct. 13: According to the *Iraq Times* the Iraq Government's income from oil royalties amounted to ID 63,784,886 so far this year, about ID 6 million more than in the same period of 1958.

Oct 15: Another attempt on General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim's life was reported by the military governor general.

Oct. 23: According to Iraqi trade reports, goods worth ID 325,000 were ordered by Iraqi merchants during the first week of the Czech trade exhibition in Baghdad. They include tractors, bicycles and textiles.

Oct 25: A court-martial sentenced a lieutenant colonel and 12 privates to death for killing Colonel Jalal Ahmad Isma'il, of the Basra garrison.

Oct 26. Fifteen Britons received exit-permits from Iraq, the first issued since the attempt to kill the Prime Minister

Oct 30 A pro-Qasim political party is being initiated in Baghdad in an effort to "attract independent forces among the people to party life, curb the anarchists (Communists) and promote the economic life of the country as well as uphold the supremacy of the law," the newspaper *Al Thawra* reported

Nov 1 In an interview General Abd al Karim Qasim declared that Iraq was a friend of all countries but he warned that Iraq would not tolerate interference from outside forces

Nov 3 Dr Faysal al-Samar, Minister of National Guidance, left for Moscow reportedly with a message from General Qasim to Premier Khrushchev

Nov 6 General 'Abd al Karim Qasim urged that Syria and Iraq unite He gave no reasons why

Nov 9 The Iranian newspaper *Kayhan* reported from Abadan that 15 Soviet ships and more than 100 transport planes had unloaded a large number of jet planes, jeeps, heavy arms and ammunition at Basra, Iraq

Nov 12 In an agreement between the Ministry of Communications and the Russian "Techno Export," this organization will carry out a survey of two important railway projects in Iraq the reconstruction of the existing meter gauge line between Baghdad and Basra and a Kirkuk Sulaymaniya extension of the Baghdad Kirkuk line

Nov 11 Attributing the attempted assassination of October 7 to imperialists General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim declared in Baghdad that Iraq had "freed" herself from "imperialism" by 'crushing' the Baghdad Pact and withdrawing from the Eisenhower Doctrine

Nov 15 Two US Representatives on a world tour study mission of possibilities for US private capital investment visited Iraq

Nov 18 Radio Baghdad quoted official sources as stating that the Iraqi Government was asking Jordan for payment for deliveries of Iraqi oil made before the revolution

Nov 23 General Qasim told army officers that he frustrated a plan to occupy Syria in connivance with Syrian officers when the Iraqi army was in Jordan before the revolution

Nov 25 The Iraqi Government plans to spend ID 400 million in the next three to five years on defense and development projects, including new industries, schools, housing and other social schemes

Nov 26 *Al-Akhbar* reported that the Russians have selected Dibis, in Kirkuk, as site for a factory for producing sulphur from natural gas

Nov 27 General Qasim was quoted to say that Syria was a playground for persons plotting against Iraq

Dec 2 General Qasim announced that he was "fully recovered" from his bullet wounds He will leave the hospital tomorrow

Dec 3 Following his discharge from the hospital, General Qasim gave a six-hour press conference in the course of which he announced that the Iraqi Government was urging IPC and its associated companies to relinquish 60 per cent of its present area

Dec 4 Half a million Iraqis paraded before General Qasim in Baghdad shouting anti-Nasir slogans as a tribute to their leader, upon his discharge from the hospital

Dec 7 The Iraqi News Agency quoted the Ministry of Oil Affairs as having said that Iraq this year would earn £86,000,000 in oil revenue

Foreign Minister Sayyid Hashim Jawad said he thought President Eisenhower's trip "will be helpful to the whole world" He denied accusations that General Qasim had shifted to the Left and declared that "the leader wants the middle way," he wants a 'liberal kind of democracy"

Dec 9 In a press interview General Qasim affirmed his neutral course

Dec 11 The Communist party of Iraq is split three ways and General Qasim is encouraging a dissident 'nationalist' faction while *Al-Thawra* is trying to found a new middle-of-the-road nationalist party

Dec 12 Iraqi physicians report that they are winning the battle against malaria and smallpox and are making plans to attack the problem of trachoma

Dec 14 Iraq and Britain signed a cultural agreement in Baghdad, the first between the two countries

Two prominent politicians were among 20 fugitives summoned today to appear before the People's Court They were Fu'ad al-Rikobi, former Minister for Reconstruction, and Faysal Habib Khayzaran, a leader of the Ba'th party

Israel

(*See also* General, Jordan)

1959

Sept 17 A band of six Bedouins opened fire on an Israel army post on the Sinai border but were repelled by an Israel army patrol

Sept 18 The Ministry for Religious Affairs was informed today that the Vatican has appointed Fr Pier Giorgio Chiappero as its first Latin Bishop in Israel

Since May 1951 when Israel Bonds were first offered to the investing public in the US, bonds for more than $400 million were sold in the US, Canada, Latin America and Western Europe, it was learned today

Sept 19 Three Bedouins were killed by an Israel force searching the Negev wasteland for outlaws

Sept 20 Arabs and Israelis began a joint campaign

against malaria in Wadi es-Sanabra, Hebron district, near the truce line, under UN supervision

Sept 21 An International Conference on the Epidemiology of Tuberculosis began at the Hebrew University with 37 eminent specialists from all over the world participating

Sept 22 David Ben Haroush, leader of the Jewish immigrants from North Africa, was sentenced to two years in prison for his part in riots in Haifa's Wadi Salib slum area July 9 and 31

Sept 24 In an address to the UN assembly, Mrs Golda Meir protested the illegality of the Egyptian interference with international shipping in the Suez Canal and its grave implications for the international community "Israel . is not prepared to accept, and should not be expected to accept, a situation in which she is singled out for illegal discrimination," she said

Sept 26 The appointment of Mr Walter Eytan, Director-General of the Foreign Ministry, as Ambassador to France, was officially confirmed

In an interview with the newspaper *Ethnos* in Athens, the Israeli Foreign Minister declared that ' Israel stands ready to negotiate a total or partial settlement of all outstanding questions" as soon as her Arab neighbors, singly or collectively, were willing to do so

Sept 29 An exhibition of thirty-six paintings by eighteen contemporary American artists, described by US Ambassador Ogden Reid as a "new and important steppingstone in Israeli-American cultural exchanges" was opened in Jerusalem at the Israel National Museum of Bezalel

The Israel Bond Organization stated a three-month special campaign to sell $6,000,000 in Israel bonds in the New York metropolitan area

Sept 30 Postal ties between Morocco's 200,000 Jewish citizens and the 110,000 Moroccan Jews in Israel were cut off by the Moroccan Government

Oct 1 Progress during the past year in industry, agriculture, education and research, the strengthening of Israel's bonds with the Jewish people everywhere, and the improved relations with foreign countries, were noted by Mr. Ishak Ben-Zvi, in his presidential message to the nation

Oct. 6 Israel declared at the UN that her offer to negotiate a Palestine peace settlement with the Arab states had been rejected

Oct 7 Israel is maintaining her boycott of the Egyptian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission, it was announced in Jerusalem

Oct 10 The tribal leaders of the Bedouin Arabs charged that Israeli authorities had summarily cast them out of their homes after taking away their property and killed at least one of their number

A resolution by the UN Egyptian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Israel for her action

Oct 15 New bank notes issued by the Bank of Israel became legal tender

Oct. 18 Dr Moshe Prywes, Associate Dean of the Hebrew University Hadassah Medical School of Jerusalem deplored the fact that Israel's health and medical programs could not be applied at the present to neighboring Arab countries because of the lack of contact between these countries and Israel

President Ishak Ben Zvi and his wife left Lydda for a ten-day state visit to Burma

Oct 19· Thousands of Jews from all over Israel climbed Mount Zion today to observe the ending of the sabbatical year

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, arrived in Tel Aviv to attend the dedication of a hospital in Beersheba The Union contributed $1,000,000 for the hospital which will serve the Negev desert region

Premier David Ben-Gurion observed his 73rd birthday today

Oct 20· Kaiser-Frazer of Israel said today that it would sue Renault Company for $2,000,000 for breach of contract arising from the Arab League's removal of Renault from its blacklist and the halting of shipments to Israel

Oct 22 Major General Moshe Dayan, one of the leading personalities of the Mapai party, visited the Katamon quarter using the American political technique of personal call to tackle the only issue that has developed thus far in the Israel election campaign—the discontent of the so-called oriental immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa

Oct 23 A finance ministry spokesman confirmed today that Israel was negotiating with an unidentified foreign concern for the sale abroad of 400,000 tons of oil a year.

Oct 24: The UN Egyptian-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission condemned and "strongly blamed" Israel for an attack by four Israeli fighters on an Egyptian airliner over the Gulf of Aqaba September 13

Oct. 28 The first of the two 46,000-ton tankers built for Israel in Japan arrived at Elath on her first voyage with an oil cargo

Oct 30 Premier David Ben-Gurion declared in Tel Aviv that the effort to secure disarmament will be one of the major programs of his government if he continues as Premier

Nov. 1 Gershon Agron, Mayor of Jerusalem and founder of *The Jerusalem Post,* died in Jerusalem at the age of 65

Nov 2· British envoy, Mr Patrick Francis Hancock, C M G, the new Ambassador to Israel, presented his credentials to President Izhak Ben-Zvi, at his residence

Israel will admit some 200 Bedouin refugees from Jordan according to an agreement signed in Jerusalem by representatives of the two governments

Nov 3 Israel's fourth general election since statehood is held Twenty-four parties are in election with a tenth of the electorate voting for the first time At stake are 120 seats in the Knesset from whose membership will come the next Premier and his Cabinet In addition, elections are held for membership in municipal councils The Mapai party is favored to win the largest number of seats—but not the majority

Premier David Ben Gurion warned President Gamal Abd al-Nasir that any attempt to stage an uprising in Iraq would compel Israel to reserve freedom of action '

Nov 4 Partial election results indicated that Mapai scored a major victory when it increased its Knesset representation from 40 to 48 or 49 Smaller gains were scored by the Herut (Freedom), the National Religious Party, and the Progressives Mapam (United Workers), Agudat Israel Poalei Agudat Israel (Orthodox) and the Arab lists more or less held their own while the General Zionists, the Communists and Achud Ha avoda (Unity of Labor) suffered serious losses None of the new parties, many of which directed their appeals to Oriental Jewish immigrants, won a single seat

Israel told UN supervisors in Jerusalem that 4 UAR MIG s had invaded her territory this morning and had been driven off by Israeli Air Force jet fighters while the UAR command in Cairo reported the contrary, namely, that its planes had repulsed two intrusions

Nov 5 Premier David Ben Gurion is expected to form a three party coalition Government with an eight vote majority in the Israeli Knesset

Nov 6 Premier David Ben Gurion opened an intensive campaign today to abolish Israel s proportional representation system of voting which he described as cancer of division

Nov 8 A riot by frustrated bus commuters near Haifa resulted in the death of a demonstrator and the injuring of 17 policemen

Premier David Ben Gurion announced his willingness to govern Israel for the next four years with a coalition of Socialists, religious groups, and proponents of free enterprise

Nov 10 President Dr Nahum Goldmann of the World Zionist Organization told a study mission of 115 American Jewish leaders in Tel Aviv that the Israeli Government had agreed to give the US Jews "something to say about how the funds they raise to help immigrants to settle in Israel are used

Nov 11 On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Malben, the American Joint Distribution Committee's program to aid handicapped and aged Israelis, honorary chairman of the United Jewish Appeal Edward M Warburg said that 95 million dollars had been spent through Malben

Premier David Ben Gurion has been set back in his efforts to eliminate proportional representation in Israeli elections The General Zionist party, the only other faction willing to adopt the proposal, lacked the votes to push through electoral reforms

Nov 12 Premier David Ben-Gurion complained about India's failure to carry out an eight-year promise of diplomatic relations

Election results were officially announced with the following new Knesset line-up Mapai, 47 seats, Herut, 17, National Religious Front (Hapoel Hamizrachi and Mizrachi), 12, Mapam, 9, General Zionists, 8, Ahdut Avodah, 7, Torah Religious Front (Agudat Israel and Poalei Agudat Israel), 6, Progressive, 6, Communists 3, three Mapai-sponsored Arab parties, a total of 5—Progress and Development 2, Cooperation and Fraternity 2 and Agriculture and Development 1

In the municipal elections in Tel Aviv Mapai gained 11 out of 31 seats, and Mr Mordechai Namir, the Minister of Labor, is expected to replace Mayor Hayim Levanon, in Jerusalem, it is still uncertain whether Mr Mordechai Ish-Shalom (Mapai), Dr Ernst Nebenzahl (National Religious Party) or Rabbi Moshe Porush (Agudat Israel) will succeed the late Mr Gershon Agron (Mapai), Mr Abba Khoushy (Mapai) and Mr Avraham Krinitsi (General Zionist) are expected to retain their posts in Haifa and Ramat Gan, respectively

Israeli and Arab delegates clashed in a tense debate on Palestinian refugees at the UN

Nov 15 Premier David Ben-Gurion told US Jewish leaders that Jews now in parts of Europe, Asia and Africa would come to Israel in the next few years 'whether the rulers like it or not"

The Cabinet decided to establish a National Council for Scientific Research and Technical Development to replace the present Research Council of Israel in order to forge a national policy for applied scientific research in Israel

Nov 16 A five-year plan for the development and modernization of Israel's transport services provides for the construction of a new Mediterranean harbor, a shipyard, a runway for international jet airliners, a chain of domestic airports and the extension of the national railway network into the barren Negev, it was disclosed in Tel Aviv

Nov 18 Finance Minister Levi Echkol said that the diversion of Jordan River waters to irrigate land in the Negev desert had top priority for Israel

Nov 19 A Lebanese airliner was freed to continue its flight to Beirut after having been intercepted by Israeli planes and forced to land at the Haifa Airport

Nov 20 French Ambassador M Pierre Gilbert departed after a seven-year period of service in Israel

Nov 27 Premier David Ben-Gurion sided with Premier 'Abd al-Karim Qasim in his conflict with President Gamal 'Abd al-Nisar in spite of his differences with the former because he considered Nasir's threat of domination "the biggest danger"

Nov. 29 A 10,000-year-old village has been excavated in the Hula area of upper Galilee by a French-Israeli team of archeologists

Nov 30 Arthur Lourie, Israeli Ambassador to Canada since 1957, succeeded Eliahu Elath as Ambassador to Britain

Dec 8 Ambassador Avraham Harman asserted at the annual dinner of the Weizmann Institute of Science at the Waldorf-Astoria that Israel is ready for direct communication with her hostile Arab neighbors for peace talks

Informed Israelis scoffed at the reported Cairo proposal to dam the Jordan in Syrian territory to prevent the Israelis from tapping it

Premier David Ben-Gurion, confined to bed with a cold, was commissioned to form his ninth Israeli government

Dec 9 It was officially announced by Gottlieb Hammer, president of the American-Israeli Shipping Company, that a contract for a 6,500-gross-ton motor ship had been signed with a French shipyard

Fairbanks Morse and Company of Chicago and the Israeli Government agreed on a partnership for the development of a machine designed to sweeten sea water

Dec 13 Premier David Ben-Gurion formed a new Government coalition that is more to the Right than his outgoing Cabinet Nine members of the moderate Socialist Mapai, two of the National Religious Front, one Progressive and one Independent are in the coalition which has 70 of the 120 Knesset votes

Dec 14 Israel asked the UN Truce Supervision Organization today for high-level intervention in Damascus "to halt Syrian sabotage of Israeli fishing nets in the Sea of Galilee"

Dec 15 Premier David Ben-Gurion postponed the introduction of his new Government today in the expectation that he would be able to present a broader coalition to parliament tomorrow An eleventh-hour switch by the leaders of the Left-wing Mapam and Ahdut Avodah parties motivated the postponement.

Bishop Pier Giorgio Chiappero arrived in Tel Aviv from Rome

Jordan

(*See also,* General, Israel)

1959

Sept 17 Khulusi al-Khayri, the Jordanian Minister of National Economy, announced in Amman that the Council of Ministers had approved the request of the Phillips Petroleum Company for an extension of its oil exploration concession in Jordan

Sept 18 Assistance in the form of heavy equipment and technicians to assist government engineers in laying water pipelines to Amman has been supplied by Tapline to the Jordan Water Project, it was reported in the Jerusalem daily, *Falastin*

Sept 20 A ministerial reshuffle announced by Premier Hazza' al-Majali disclosed the following changes former Finance Minister, Musa Nasir, as Foreign Minister, Minister of Justice, Anastas Hananiya, replaced by Anwar Nashashibi, Minister of National Defense, for an ambassadorial appointment, and in addition to his portfolio, Khulusi al-Khayri received the portfolio of development and reconstruction

Signor Pier Spinelli, UN Ambassador in the Middle East, returned to Amman from Geneva

Sept 22 Foreign Minister Musa Nasir said that Jordan and other Arab delegations to the current session of the UN General Assembly would concentrate on Palestine, including Mr Hammarskjold's report on the future of the refugees, and Algeria

Sept 23 Two leading Jordanian newspapers, *Al-Difa'* and *Al-Jihad,* attacked the Iraqi Government execution of army officers and civilians purported to be enemies of General Qasim

Sayyid 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Rifa'i told the UN General Assembly that Jordan supported the UAR's banning of Israeli navigation from the Suez Canal

Sept 24 King Husayn received seven West German parliamentary delegates in Amman On the same day four members of the US House of Representatives led by Mr Otto Passman, chairman of the foreign aid subcommittee, called on King Husayn

Sept 27 A special ministerial committee met with representatives of the Phillips Petroleum Company and the Director of the Bureau of Mines in the Jordanian Ministry of National Economy to draw up the final draft of an amendment, to be introduced into the concession agreement of the Phillips Company, which provides for the addition of part of the Ghor district to the company's concession area against payment by the company of an additional rent

Award of the contract for completing the Ghor canal has been postponed for a month, Sayyid Muhammad Isma'il, director of the canal authority, disclosed in Amman

Sept 28· Prime Minister Sayyid Hazza' al-Majali said that an arrangement to organize relations between the Ministry of Education and Christian missionary and private schools is contemplated, and denied the accusation that the ministry had requested the Christian community schools to teach the Muslim religion

Sept 29 The state security court heard the final evidence in the trial of 17 discharged officers and civilians accused of plotting to overthrow the monarchy The verdict was to be announced

King Husayn approved a provisional military pension law submitted by the Council of Ministers which entitles officers to pension on resigning after 20 instead of 25 years' service and on discharge after 12 instead of 15 years

Oct 1 Rafidain Bank funds in Amman were released A defense order freezing the funds and

sequestrating the bank in July last year, after the federation of Iraq and Jordan was cancelled, was withdrawn.

Oct. 4 M Jean Querton, Belgian ambassador to Jordan and Lebanon, presented his credentials to King Husayn today following the raising to embassy level of diplomatic representations between Jordan and Belgium, last week

Dr Amin Isma'il Sidqi, epidemics specialist at the WHO s office in Alexandria, arrived in Amman for talks with the Health Ministry about aid for Jordan s project to produce dry anti-smallpox vaccine to be used for Bedouin tribes which move between Jordan and other Arab countries

Oct. 6 The House of Representatives approved an amendment to the state security court act empowering the Prime Minister to form more of such courts to try Communists and others, the main aim of which was to speed up trials

Oct 7 The House of Notables approved the amendment to the state security court act

Dr Chun Jien-pae, the new Nationalist Chinese ambassador, submitted his credentials in Amman, taking the place of Mr Chun Chehping, who was transferred to Libya

Oct. 8 Royal approval of the appointment of Sayyid Anastas Hananiya as ambassador in London was given today

Oct 10. A royal decree issued in Amman authorized Premier Hazza' Majali to establish new state security courts to try Communists and other "dangerous' Jordanians

Oct. 12 The US has promised to pay a second installment of aid to Jordan early next month, the financial undersecretary disclosed

Oct 13 The Ministry of Health reports that it intends to give three million doses of vaccine produced in its laboratories to the WHO each year as a contribution to the campaign to eradicate smallpox in the Middle East

Oct 14 It was announced today that Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlevi will make an official visit to Jordan on October 28 at the invitation of King Husayn

Oct 18. The Soviet Ambassador in Lebanon, Segei P Kiktev, is paying a private visit to Jordan, the first Soviet diplomat to visit the country, it was learned today.

Oct 20 The House of Representatives unanimously agreed to meet occasionally in Jerusalem in compliance with a resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers nominating Jerusalem as the second capital.

A spokesman was reported to have said that $14,399,000 has been allotted for UNRWA's work in Jordan during the coming year

Oct. 22. King Husayn nominated the 25 members of the new House of Notables, ten of whom are new

Oct 26 The US loaned the Jordan Phosphate Mines Company $1,500,000 today to help it increase annual production from 320,000 tons of dry phosphate to 600,000 tons

In an interview with the Amman correspondent of the London *News Chronicle* King Husayn said that Jordan would do all in her power to rescue Iraq from Communist control and that Jordan could stand idly by if either Communists, or a pro-UAR group took over Iraq

Nov 1. Security forces arrested as Israeli who was alleged to have tried to cross the armistice line into Jordan from Israel in the Jenin Mablus area UN truce observers began an investigation upon notification

Nov 3 Britain will lend Jordan £500,000 interest-free during the present financial year to finance the development of the desert road between Amman and Ma'an, it was reported in Amman

Nov. 4 The Council of Ministers decided to increase Jordan's yearly contribution to the IMF from $3 million to $4,500,000 to enable Jordan to draw from the fund, authoritative sources in Amman said

The Ministry of Economy said that it had informed the Foreign Ministry that it supported the economic boycott of France decided by Arab League economic council In conjunction with this the government has banned all dealings with the Paris firm *La Société Bancaire et Financière d'Orient* and all its branches for violating the Arab boycott of Israel

Nov 5 The Ford Foundation announced a $290,000 grant for economic advisers to the Jordanian government and an additional grant of $200,000 to the Arab Development Society for a pilot agricultural project in the Jordan Valley

Nov 6 A joint statement issued in Amman by King Husayn and the Shah of Iran pledged to spare no effort to preserve peace and security in the Middle East

Nov 7 It was officially announced in Amman that the United States will make four monthly grants of $4,100,000 each, starting in December, to the Jordanian Treasury to help cover budgetary expenses

Nov 9 West Germany has offered to give Jordan technical aid including a fully-equipped geological mission to prospect for minerals, Sayyid Khulusi al-Khayri announced

Nov 10 King Husayn left Amman for a month s holiday in Europe, including Turkey, Italy, Switzerland, England and other countries

Nov 16 Six young Jordanians went on trial in Rammallah on charges of being members of a ring spying for Israel A death penalty was asked by the prosecutor

Nov 17 A Polish economic mission called on Sayyid Khulusi al-Khayri and agreed to buy Jordanian phosphate in return for Polish goods, it was announced

Nov 18 Work began at Irbid, north Jordan, on the first factory to make diesel motor engines and

parts with private capital but with the encouragement of the Ministry of Economy. Imports will be exempt from custom duty and tools will be imported from West Germany

A spokesman said today that UNRWA recently paid 125,000 dinars to the Development and Reconstruction Bank in Amman

Nov 23 Five Jordanians accused of being members of a spy ring that smuggled military secrets to Israel were sentenced to death today at Rammallah

Nov 29 *Al-Jihad* of Jerusalem said, on King Husayn's arrival in London today, that he would have talks on British financial and military aid for Jordan

Nov 30 Arrangements are being made to recognize the republic of Cyprus as soon as it is proclaimed and diplomatic relations will open, the Foreign Ministry said

Dec 1 The Jordanian Parliament ratified a bill sanctioning the government's supplementary agreement with the Pillips Petroleum Company under the terms of which the company's concession area has been increased

Dec 3 An agreement was signed today between the Jordanian Government and the United Storage Company under the terms of which the company will pay a minimum of ID 150,000 this financial year for the use of 12 storage tanks built by the government at Aqaba

Dec 7 The Foreign Ministry has informed the Arab League Secretariat that Jordan agrees to a UAR proposal that the League Economic Council should meet in Cairo early next month instead of in Beirut, it was learned today

Dec 8 Mr B. West of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization arrived in Amman to discuss with officials the prospects of a long-term agricultural program in Jordan

Dec 9 The Arab League's permanent legal committee decided at its recent meetings in Cairo to postpone discussion of a proposed constitution for an Arab court of justice and a proposed inter-Arab residence agreement so that preliminary studies could be completed, Sayyid 'Awni 'Abd al-Hadi said

Dec 10 Mr Norman Burns, director of the US Operations Mission in Jordan, said that the deficit in Jordan's trade balance this year was 80 million dollars.

Port installations at Aqaba were opened today by Crown Prince Muhammad Sayyid Mazza' al-Majali stressed the importance of the port in his speech at the ceremony

Kashmir

1959

Oct 23: The Indian Government announced that Chinese Communist troops had attacked an Indian force in Kashmir, killing 17 Indians It sent a letter of protest to Peiping.

The Government of Kashmir has agreed to join a common civil police force to be established for northern India. Administrative reforms have also been carried out under which Indian civil servants can serve in Kashmir and Kashmir officials can transfer to the Indian Government

Oct. 24. Hope for a settlement of the problem of possession of Kashmir by Pakistan and India was hinted by President Ayub Khan in a press interview at Karachi.

Oct 27: The Indian Government has accepted a Communist Chinese offer to return ten border policemen held by Chinese forces in Ladakh and the bodies of nine policemen killed in the border clash

Nov 12· India sent a letter to the President of the Security Council (Doc. S/4238) referring to a report in the Pakistan press to the effect that the Azad Kashmir Government had decided to sell at auction all property belonging to Jammu and Kashmir States in different parts of West Pakistan. India charged that neither government had the legal right to sell these properties

Nov 17 A report received by the Kashmir Government said that the Communist Chinese have built an airfield on Indian territory on the Aksai Chih plateau in Ladakh.

Dec. 7. A Foreign Ministry spokesman told the Indian Parliament that two residents from the Pakistani area of disputed Kashmir crossed the cease-fire line on November 18 and killed an old woman

Prime Minister Nehru said that he would discuss the Kashmir issue with President Eisenhower only if the latter was willing to do so

Lebanon

1959

Sept 18 The Committee of IPC Dismissed Workers had completed a detailed report of their case which the Lebanese Ministry of Social Affairs had requested, it was learned

Sept 22: Representatives of the dismissed employees committee met with the Director General of the Ministry of Social Affairs and discussed their report with him The committee also announced that a meeting of all the dismissed employees would be held in Tripoli on September 27

Sept 25 Anti-Qasim demonstrators surged toward the Iraqi Embassy in Beirut in protest against the execution of the 17 men accused of plotting against the Qasim régime One demonstrator was killed and several were hospitalized for injuries as policemen tried to disperse them

Sept 27. A by-election was held in Al-Mukhtara to fill a seat in Parliament left vacant by the murder of Deputy Na'im Mughabkhab two months ago. Candidate Kamil Jumblatt won by almost 3,000 votes

over the candidate backed by Mr Camille Sham'un and the Socialist party

Sept. 28 The Premier of Lebanon said that his Government "firmly supports" the exclusion of Israeli ships and cargoes from the Suez Canal

Oct. 3 President Fu'ad Shihab refused to accept the resignation of Sayyid Raymond Eddé from the Lebanese Cabinet

Oct 7 Membership of the Lebanese Government was increased from four to eight The new cabinet is

Prime Minister, Finance and Defense	Rashid Karami
Foreign Affairs	Husayn 'Uwayni
Public Works and Health	Pierre Jumayyil
Justice and Economy	Philip Taqla
Interior and Information	'Ali Bazzi
Labor and Social Affairs, and Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones	Maurice Zuwayn
Education and General Planning	Fu'ad Butrus
Agriculture	Fu'ad Najjar

The Arab League's provisional council for economic union ended its two-week meeting in Beirut

Oct 11 About 250 doctors met in Beirut and decided to ask the government for legislation prohibiting "precautionary" detention of doctors and for changes in the rules of medical practice in Lebanon

Oct 12 Al Nahar reported that the appropriate departments in the Lebanese Ministries of Finance and Planning are preparing to resume oil transit royalty negotiations with Tapline

Oct 15 The Minister of Social Affairs, Maurice Zuwayn, submitted a draft decision to the Council of Ministers providing for the formation of a ministerial committee to follow up the case of the dismissed IPC employees

Oct 16 The Minister received Husayn 'Ali Husayn, President of the Association of Lebanese Labor Unions

Oct 19 A delegation of the dismissed employees visited the Minister and threatened to go on another hunger strike if their case was not settled by October 26

Oct 20 Sayyid Sabri Hamadi was elected speaker of the Chamber of Deputies by 33 votes to 29 for Sayyid 'Adil 'Usayran

Oct 24 New governors were appointed for the five Lebanese provinces They include a former minister, Sayyid Philippe Bulus, now governor of Beirut, Sayyid Halim Abu-'Izz al-din, minister to India and Sayyid Ghalib al-Turk, minister to Sudan

Oct. 26 Leaflets criticizing President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir were confiscated by security officers as they were being distributed in the streets in Beirut They originated from the Muslim Liberation Party and attacked the recent decision of giving Field-Marshal 'Abd al-Hakim 'Amir powers to supervise Syrian affairs

Nov 1 Security forces are deporting all foreigners who are politically active in Lebanon, an authoritative source in Beirut said.

Nov 3 Sayyid Jamal Mikkawi was elected chairman of the Chamber of Deputies' foreign affairs committee to replace Sayyid Philip Taqla, now Minister of Justice and Economy

Nov 5 Uproar broke out in the chamber when the president, Sayyid Sabri Hamadi, stopped Sayyid Pierre Eddé and his supporters from discussing the latter's proposal to amend a government decree integrating the municipal and ordinary police forces

Nov 8 A marriage contract between the second son of King Muhammad V of Morocco and a 23-year old Lebanese was signed in Beirut Neither Miss Lamina al-Sulh nor Prince Mawlay 'Abdallah was present

Nov 11 Prime Minister Rashid Karami, Shaykh Abdallah al-Tariki, and the Saudi Director General of Petroleum and Mineral Affairs discussed the problem of the increase of Lebanon's oil transit royalties from Tapline

The Beirut daily *al-Bina* reported that over the past eight years and nine months, 188,582,000 tons of Iraqi and Saudi oil had been piped across Lebanese territory to Lebanese ports

Nations of the Arab League have proposed a joint Arab-owned oil pipeline and improved financial terms for countries granting oil concessions, it was reported to the Lebanese Government

Nov 17 Negotiations begun three years ago between Lebanon and Russia for a civil aviation agreement can be considered suspended, it was officially stated in Beirut

A government bill compensating members of the army, security forces, and civil service who were seriously injured in last year's revolution was approved by the Chamber of Deputies

Nov 18 Mr Leslie Carver, deputy director of the UNRWA for Palestine Refugees, was killed in a collision between his car and a military armored car at a road crossing in Beirut

The state security council asked commanders of security forces in the north and the governor there to approach the Syrian authorities with a view to ending border clashes

Nov 24 The 150 dismissed employees of the IPC and workers in Lebanon began a hunger strike in protest against the failure of the government to arrange for their reinstatement with the company

Nov 25 George A Kasem, a US Congressman of Lebanese origin, defended Washington against charges of favoritism for Israel

Nov 27 Prime Minister Rashid Karami announced that he had requested Mr Paul Ensor, Chief Representative of IPC in Lebanon, to try to find a solution to the strike of the IPC employees and workers in Lebanon

Nov 29 A spokesman for the strikers announced the determination of the dismissed workers to continue their strike till death if necessary

Nov 30· Fifteen of the strikers were hospitalized in serious condition

Nov 31 Representatives of the various Lebanese trade unions threatened the government to call a general strike in support of the IPC workers if their problem was not solved in 48 hours

Dec 3 The Governor of Tripoli proposed a compromise solution which was accepted with reservations by the dismissed employees The proposal was to give these employees temporary employment for six months and thereafter they were to be reinstated

Dec 4 Talks between Lebanon and Italy on an agreement organizing air services between them were broken off because of what Lebanese delegations sources said as obstinacy on the part of the Italians

Dec 5 The hunger strike entered its 12th day as labor union delegations visited Maronite Patriach Paul Ma'ushi, and Kamal Junzlatt, and asked them to intercede on their behalf

Dec 9 Representatives of all labor unions in the country met and resolved to call a general strike if the demands of the dismissed employees were not granted by the evening of Monday, December 14

The IPC issued a statement to the effect that the case of the dismissed workers had been settled as of November 1958 and that IPC had met all obligations pertaining to them

Libya

1959

Sept 26 The Libyan Petroleum Commission announced that the American Overseas Petroleum Company tested production of its Beda well which amounted to 3,650 barrels a day clear of water and oil gravity to 36 6 degrees

Oct 30. Socony Mobil Oil Company announced in New York that its Libyan affiliate had struck oil with a wildcat well 190 miles southeast of Benghazi

Nov 19 Libya is drafting a reply to a US note on Libya's request for changes in the American-Libyan agreement of 1954 The reply includes a request for increase in the rent for the Wheelus Air Base, separation of this rent from American aid, and payment of both rent and aid directly to the Libyan Government, the weekly *Al-Libi* reported

Nov 25—The Government suspended the only three independent newspapers in Benghazi, the English-language *Cyrenaica Weekly News*, *Al-Zaman* and *Al-Amal*, under a press law issued recently

Nov 30 The Libyan Government moved its seat to Tripoli for its two-year term as capital

Dec 1· It was reported that Libya, which already has two capitals, is building a third one in Bayda

Dec 5: The Oasis Oil Company reported that it had struck oil in its concession area in Syrtica at the rate of 2,800 BPD

Dec. 10 United States and Libyan negotiators are having little luck in reaching an agreement on how much the US should pay for keeping a jet training center at Wheelus Field, near Tripoli.

Morocco

1959

Sept 18 A series of paralysis attacks has caused consternation in the Meknes region in central Morocco The causes were believed to be from food poisoning

Sept. 22 The decision of Morocco to adhere to the Arab Postal Convention and cut all postal links with Israel was implemented today.

Sept 23 King Muhammad V is faced with a grave domestic dilemma whether to support the present Government in its new plan of "economic liberation" from the French monetary zone or to call on the Opposition to present a counter-program and the names of a governing team to apply it

Sept 26 The Algerian Nationalists informed King Muhammad V of the broad lines of their answer to President Charles de Gaulle's offer of self-determination

Sept 28 The Moroccan royal palace and political leaders welcomed the Algerian Provisional Government's acceptance of the principle of self determination

Oct 1 Morocco has signed a commercial agreement with Communist China totaling $11,600,000, it was announced in Rabat

Oct 2: It was explained in Rabat that Morocco's ban on mail sent to or from Israel is a result of her ratification of the Arab Postal Convention, which bars its members from postal communication with Israel

Oct 4 The Istiqlal party announced the suspension of its five news organs in protest against the press decree of September 18 which provides penalties for criticizing a government official or a member of the army or police

Oct. 7. The National Mining and Geological Department awarded today to the Fairchild Aerial Surveys Inc of Los Angeles, a contract for an extensive geophysical air survey of the eastern part of Morocco to determine mineral resources

Oct 10· The Premier of Morocco expressed hope that his visit to the US would result in a solution of the question of five US military bases in Morocco He flew to Paris today on his way to New York.

Oct. 13 It was learned at the UN that Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim was trying to lay the groundwork for UN action to pave the way for talks between France and the Algerian nationalists

Oct 14. Top-level talks between Algeria and Morocco began in Rabat Premier 'Abbas of the Algerian Provisional Government was reported to be desirous to clarify the French and Algerian posi-

tions with regard to the new régime in Algeria.

Oct. 16: The Moroccan Government announced a change of name for the Moroccan currency from the Moroccan franc to the dirham. The measure is considered a prelude to new economic measures that may involve a break with the franc zone

Oct. 17 The Government announced a 20 44 per cent devaluation of the Moroccan franc as one in a series of measures to strengthen the country's economy To counter the effect of devaluation on prices, the Government has established strict control of the prices of consumer goods and luxury items will be highly taxed

The IMF announced that it had agreed to a one-year $25,000,000 stand-by credit arrangement with Morocco Morocco had agreed to an increase of $17,500,000 in her quota with the IMF, making a new total of $52,500,000

Oct 20. Dollars were in heavy demand on the Tangier free market, but on instructions from Rabat, banks were unable to sell them

Oct. 28 Talks between Crown Prince Mawlay Hasan and President de Gaulle on the Algerian problem have proved "positive, fruitful and useful," official Moroccan sources said

Oct 31 It was reported in Casablanca that 15 dock workers were injured in a clash between rival unionists

Parcels of state lands were distributed to 293 needy peasant families in Sidi Kasem in the advent of the Government's new program of land distribution

Nov 1 It was learned in Rabat that after Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim's talks in Washington, the US has publicly recognized Moroccan sovereignty over the five bases and declared its determination to reach an agreement on withdrawing its forces from them

Nov. 4: The Moroccan Government proclaimed the death penalty for the manufacture or sale of dangerous found products after an outbreak of mass poisoning caused by table oil adulterated with fuel oils from US surplus stocks

Nov 5 An official Moroccan delegation left Rabat for Beirut to ask for the hand of Miss Lami al Sulh for Prince Mawlay 'Abdallah

Nov 12: The Moroccan Government announced the confiscation of property of sixty-five Moroccans for collaborating with the French Protectorate régime prior to independence in 1956

Nov. 13 The Ministry of Health reported that at least 9,467 cases of partial paralysis of arms and legs had been caused by a fraudulent dilution of cooking oil with a mineral oil used to rinse aviation engines.

Morocco and the Soviet Union signed a trade agreement providing for 3,000,000,000 francs in trade in each direction, or an increase of 500,000,000 both ways over last year

Nov. 14. Seventy-seven more cases of paralysis have been reported and 27 merchants have been arrested for making or selling adulterated cooking oil.

Nov. 15. A surprise gift of $500,000 worth of US military equipment will be made public at the ceremonies opening the three-day national holiday tomorrow in honor of King Muhammad V and Moroccan independence

Nov 17 The League of Red Cross Societies announced in Geneva the receipt of an appeal from the Moroccan Government for immediate aid for 10,000 victims of the fraudulent dilution of cooking oil

Nov 24 A new five-year plan which is to take effect early next year was outlined by the Minister of the Economy, 'Abd al-Rahim It provides for widespread state intervention in and control of industry

Nov 27 Crown Prince Mawlay Hasan expressed gratitude and praised the "extreme importance" of the US arms package

A US Embassy spokesman disclosed that an analysis was being made to determine whether jet engine flushing oil sold by the USAF in Morocco contained poison

Dec 1 A Soviet IL-18 turbo-prop jet brought President Sékou Touré of Guinea to Rabat from Prague for a four-day state visit

Dec 4 The labor-supported daily *Al Tahrir* was seized today because it accused palace personnel of refusing to permit a group of former members of the nationalist resistance to have an audience with King Muhammad V It was charged with slander

Dec 5 Upon the announcement of President Eisenhower's planned visit to Morocco, political leaders in Rabat were reported to have stirred widespread hopes that the US is ready to treat African states as separate entities

Dec 10 An exchange of diplomatic missions between Morocco and Cuba, her first delegation in Latin America, was announced

Dec 14 Legal action against *Al-Tahrir* for "an offense against the religious and political institutions of the kingdom" would be taken, the Royal Palace announced

Dec 15 Two resistance leaders of Morocco's former independence movement were arrested for publishing attacks against the monarchy They were the director and the editor-in-chief of the daily *Al-Tahrir*

Pakistan

(*See also* General Afghanistan)

1959

Sept 17 The birthday of the Holy Prophet of Islam was celebrated throughout Pakistan

Sept 18 An agreement for the establishment of an oil refinery in Pakistan was signed with a consortium of four oil companies. Sixty per cent of

the capital will be held by the foreign firms and forty per cent by Pakistanis

Sept 19· The procedure to be adopted by the various Tribunals to be constituted under the Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Ordinance, 1959, was announced.

The President issued the Gwadur (Government and Administration) (Amendment) Order, 1959, which provided that the executive authority of the Province of West Pakistan shall extend to Gwadur

Sept 23 Some vital amendments in the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act, 1958, were approved by the Cabinet

The President promulgated an Order amending Legislative Powers Order, 1959, which will have the effect of giving the Center and the Provinces concurrent powers of legislation in all fields outside those specifically reserved to the Center under the Constitution of 1956

Sept 25 The IBRD made a loan equivalent to $10 million to the Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation Like an earlier Bank loan of $4 2 million to PICIC this loan will be used to meet the foreign exchange requirements of projects financed by the Corporation

Sept 27 Eminent Pakistani writer and journalist, Maulana Abdul Majid Salik, died of heart failure, in Lahore

Sept 28 The first Pakistan-made ship, built by the Karachi Shipyard was handed over to the Karachi Port Trust

Under President Muhammad Ayub Khan's land reform program, 128 peasants in Tando Allahayar became owners of land they and their grandfathers had worked for generations as impoverished tenants They were the first of 100,000 peasant families that will benefit from this program

Oct. 5. In a press interview in New York Dr Muhammad Shoaib reported that Pakistan has recovered financially from a virtual state of insolvency during the year since President Ayub Khan took control

Oct 6 General Ne Win, Prime Minister of Burma, arrived in Karachi on a two-day official visit

Oct 8 The East Pakistan Governor said that an atomic reactor would be set up at Dacca

A joint communiqué underlining the need of maintaining and developing friendly relations between Pakistan and Burma was issued at the conclusion of the Burmese Premier's visit in Karachi

Oct 9 The President, by an order, dismissed the Governing Body and the Executive Committee of Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Karachi, and appointed a Board of Management to govern its affairs with Dr Maulvi Abdul Haq as its Chairman

Oct 13: At least 300 persons have died in an outbreak of cholera in and around Dacca it was reported, and the situation in other East Pakistan districts was said to be "alarming"

Oct 15. Talks at the ministerial level on disputes between India and East Pakistan on border problems began in New Delhi

A three-member Indian delegation began talks with Pakistan Government representatives on the issues connected with the partition debt.

Oct. 20: Pakistan began moving her capital 750 miles north of Karachi to Rawalpindi

Oct. 21. Maps published in Communist China were studied by Pakistan in view of reports that small-scale maps showed parts of the Gilgit area to be part of China The Foreign Minister, Manzur Qadir warned that Pakistan "will defend its boundaries and its integrity and sovereignty by all possible means against any party that takes action to violate it"

Pakistan's military régime adopted and promulgated a labor peace law which establishes special industrial courts to act as final arbiters in industrial disputes

The West Pakistan Governor constituted a three-man Election Authority to organize, conduct and supervise elections to basic democracies in rural and urban areas of the province

Oct 24 At the conclusion of Indo-Pakistan talks on border disputes, a joint communiqué embodying a number of agreements on border issues was simultaneously issued from Karachi and New Delhi

An agreement to authorize the UN to operate wireless stations in Pakistan was signed

More than 10,000 Muslims have fled from Buddhist Burma to Muslim East Pakistan this year, it was learned in Dacca

Pakistan has found that surplus labor consisting of persons employed in varied foreign establishments can be a valuable source of foreign exchange, it was reported in Karachi

Oct 26 The legislation based on the system of "basic democracies" was promulgated today by President Ayub Khan from the new capital, Rawalpindi It would take effect on October 27, the first anniversary of his military régime

Oct 27· Pakistan celebrated Revolution Day today marked by a Presidential appeal for hard work, the establishment of Rawalpindi as the seat of the Government and the Promotion of President Ayub Khan from the rank of general to that of Pakistan's first field marshal

Nov 2 Two thousand Mangai tribesmen have taken refuge in the Guzgarhi area of the former North-West Frontier region 220 miles northwest of Rawalpindi following "severe persecution" by the Afghan government, an authoratative source in Rawalpindi said They opposed Afghan efforts to encourage women to discard the veil

Nov 3 President Ayub Khan said today that unidentified planes had made unauthorized flights over Pakistan from the direction of Afghanistan and that the Government had taken "suitable action" He said that according to reports the Afghan Army and Air Force had been deployed against the Mangal tribesmen refugees.

Pakistan signed a $4,800,000 loan agreement with the Development Loan Fund to cover the foreign-exchange costs of building landing facilities for large commercial jet aircraft at Karachi International Airport

Nov 5 One thousand more Mangal tribesmen have taken refuge in Pakistan bringing their total to 3,000, it was learned in Rawalpindi

The foundation stone of a new North Karachi Township was laid by President Ayud Khan

Nov 6 The Prime Minister of Cambodia, His Royal Highness Norodom Sihanouk, arrived in Karachi together with his wife

Nov 7 The West Pakistan Government promulgated the West Pakistan Determination of Land Revenue and Water Ordinance, 1959, to separate the land revenue from the water rate and to make provision for reassessment of land revenue and water rate

Nov 8 Tribal elders charged the Afghan Army with the killing of ninety persons, half of them women during their recent revolt, it was announced in Rawalpindi

Nov 9 President Ayub Khan left for Teheran on his nine-day state visit to Iran

Nov 10 President Ayub Khan received the honorary degree of Doctor of Law from the Chancellor of Teheran University

Lt Gen Muhmmad Azam Khan announced the new scale of compensation for settling claims of displaced persons

Nov 11 The West Pakistan Governor announced that elections to the "basic democracies" in West Pakistan will begin on December 26

Nov 12 Pakistan and the US signed the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce in Washington

Nov 18 President Ayub Khan arrived in Ankara on a three-day state visit

Nov 20 President Ayub Khan returned to Pakistan from his state visits

In a statement, President Ayub Khan said that by trying to get together to defend themselves, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan were acting as a shield of security for the entire Middle East, South East Asia and the African continent

Nov 23 The President declared that Pakistan would not recognize any arrangement between Mr Nehru and Mr Chou En-lai to create a "no-man's land" in Ladakh

Nov 27: Muhammad Naim, Afghanistan's Foreign Minister has accepted an invitation to visit Pakistan, it was announced in Rawalpindi

Dec 1 The President amended martial law regulations today, allowing candidates for local councils to hold meetings and organize processions

Dec 2: The Governor of East Pakistan announced that an auxiliary capital of Pakistan is to be built at Tejgoan, near Dacca

Dec. 4: Two US naval ships arrived in Karachi in preparation for President Eisenhower's visit

Dec 5: Pakistan had a dress rehearsal for the arrival of President Eisenhower.

Dec 7: President Eisenhower arrived in Pakistan and received a warm welcome, it was reported in Karachi

Dec 8 A communiqué issued after lunch by the two presidents reaffirmed the close ties existing between the US and Pakistan and emphasized anew the importance of CENTO and SEATO in preserving the stability and security of the areas covered by them

An unofficial invitation given by President Eisenhower to President Ayub Khan to visit the US was accepted by the latter on the condition that pressure of his work does not disable him from doing so, perhaps in 1960, it was understood

Dec 9 President Eisenhower and his party left for Kabul today Asked for help in settling Pakistan's disputes with India and Afghanistan, the President's reaction was somewhat less than what President Ayub Khan had hoped for.

Palestine Problem

1959

Sept 22: The seventeenth progress report of the UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine, covering the period from June 1, 1958 to August 31, 1959 was issued It described, among other things, the technical work done on the identification and valuation of Arab refugee property, and gave the present position regarding release of Arab refugee bank accounts blocked in Israel and the transfer of safe deposit and safe custody items

Oct 6 A report regarding the proposals of the UN Secretary-General for the continuation of UN assistance to the Palestine refugees accompanied by a memorandum signed by the representatives of Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, the UAR, and Yemen were presented to Secretary-General Dag Hammerskjold by Ambassador 'Abd al Khalik Hasuna

Oct 7 UAR President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir says he is willing to accept the implementation of all UN resolutions relating to Israel and the Arabs

Oct. 8 The Arab delegations at the UN informed the Secretary-General that they would oppose any effort to reintegrate Palestine refugees in the Arab host countries They said that Mr Hammarskjöld's recent recommendation had "anticipated a situation in which the refugees would be forced to give up their rights"

Oct. 29: A Jordan-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission met to discuss a Jordanian complaint about the expulsion from Israel of 300 Azazmeh tribesmen

Nov. 10 The head of the UN's aid agency for Arab refugees said that assistance would be needed for a decade or more He urged that 600,000 Palestinian refugees should be given job opportunities by

having them cross "a demarcation line or a national boundary"

Nov 16: Arabs and Israelis again clashed in the UN General Assembly's Special Political Committee, each trying to blame the other for the plight of the Arabs from Palestine

Nov. 17 In the General Assembly special political committee, Ceylon supported Saudi Arabia's suggestion that the Palestine conciliation commission should be received with wider representation and stronger powers to try to solve the refugee problem

Nov 24: Israel and Jordan clashed over an appraisal of the Jewish religion during the debate in the UN General Assembly's Special Political Committee, on the Palestine refugee problem

Nov 26: Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien of Ireland suggested that an experimental group of 100 Palestine refugees be permitted to return to their homes He told the General Assembly's Special Political Committee that this could be a first step toward breaking the political deadlock A progressively larger group would then be permitted to return, he added

Nov 30 Israel offered to negotiate with her Arab neighbors on aspects of the problem of Palestinian Arab refugees Mr. Comay of Israel reiterated his country's opposition to the mass return of the refugees who are living in the Arab countries bordering Israel

Dec 2: In private talks, both the Arabs and Israel resisted the American proposal to revive the Palestine conciliation commission so that it could try to arrange repatriation or compensation for the refugees The Arabs were said to suspect the US wanted the commission to concentrate on compensation rather than on repatriation

Dec 3: The US and the Arab states have reached a compromise agreement on continuing UN aid to Palestinian Arab refugees for another three years

Dec. 7 Israel disclaimed any part in the "compromise" agreement because she felt that the agreement stresses settling the problem by renewed efforts to return the refugees to their homes, which now are within Israel's borders

Dec. 8 A three-year extension of UN assistance to 1,000,000 Palestinian Arab refugees was voted 71 to 0 in the UN.

Persian Gulf

1959

Sept 28. The Cairo weekly *Rauzal-Yusuf* reported that it has gained possession of a secret document giving details of an Iraqi plan to annex, by force of arms if necessary, the oil-rich Shaykhdom of Kuwayt, and other oil-producing states of the Pursian Gulf Iraq's present financial crisis has compelled Iraq to do this, it reported

Oct. 21: The Japanese-owned Arabian Oil Company announced in Tokyo that it would resume its test drilling offshore from the Saudi Arabian-Kuwayt Neutral Zone toward the end of November

Nov 11: The Arabian Oil Company of Japan announced that it was to increase its capital from 5,250,000,000 yen to 10,000,000,000 yen in order to raise the additional funds necessary for oilfield development in its offshore concession.

Six dhows have been sunk and heavy damage caused along the coast of Muscat by storms which raged for eight days, travellers reaching Dubai reported

Nov. 22 Seventy-one "Communists," including Syrians, Iraqis, Jordanians, Lebanese, and Iranians were arrested in Kuwayt according to the public security department They were found to have been organizing a cell in Kuwayt

Nov 25: Crude oil production of the Kuwayt Oil Company in October totaled 5,933,255 tons, as compared with 6,250,892 tons in October 1958, it was reported

King Sa'ud and his retinue arrived in Duha, Qatar, for a four-day state visit to Shaykh 'Ali Bin 'Abdallah al-Thani

Nov 29 The Arabian Oil Company of Japan resumed its test drilling operations The company expected its drilling to reach an undersea depth of 2,500 ms by the end of February 1960

Dec. 12: A bomb attempt on the life of Sayyid Ahmad Bin Ibrahim, Minister of the Interior of the independent Sultanate of Muscat, while he was on his way from Muscat to Bombay for medical treatment, was officially revealed

Saudi Arabia

1959

Sept 20 The UAR agreed to the loan of 12 Egyptian specialists in eye diseases and radiology to work in the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Health for two years

Sept. 22: King Sa'ud telegraphed President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir supporting the barring of Israeli ships and cargoes from the Suez Canal

Sept 24: A Chief of Staff for the Saudi Arabian Army was instituted by Royal Decree. General Ibrahim al-Tasan was oppointed to the post

Sept 25: The chairman of the Saudi Arabian educational mission visiting Jordan announced that 140 Jordanian teachers had been hired to work in Saudi Arabia

Oct. 7 Someone threatened Saudi Arabian delegate to the UN, Ahmad Shuqayri that he would be shot if he did not abandon his attacks on Israel, Arab delegates at New York said

W. R. Cooper, ARAMCO's general manager for engineering and construction, has been elected a vice president of ARAMCO

Oct 19 In an interview with the Cairo daily *al-Ahram,* His Royal Highness Amir Faysal denied that any contracts were taking place between Saudi

Arabia and Great Britain over the renewal of diplomatic relations

Oct. 20. The Conference of Arab Oil Experts began in Jiddah

Oct 21. King Sa'ud announced that schools for girls will be established in Saudi Arabia under the supervision of a special committee of religious leaders.

Oct. 26: The Arab League Petroleum Experts Committee held its seventh session in Jiddah Shaykh 'Adballah Tariki was elected chairman Chief items on the agenda were the proposals for an Arab pipeline, an Arab tanker fleet, and a joint Arab oil policy

Nov 11 Saudi Arabia celebrated the sixth anniversary of the accession of King Sa'ud

The Middle East Director of the IMF pronounced Saudi Arabia nearly restored to fiscal health after eighteen months of austerity

Nov 12 Three American correspondents interviewed Gamal Bey who called for a restoration of the pre-1956 status quo in the Gulf of Aqaba with respect to Israeli shipping He said that Saudi Arabia wished to restore normal relations with Britain provided that the disputes over the south and south-eastern borders of the country were solved

King Sa'ud said through a spokesman that he was opposed to the continued presence of a UN force in the Aqaba Gulf area

Nov 28 Guerilla warfare in the Buraimi Oasis continued as Scouts let by British officers surrounded Hamasa village in search of guerillas and men who lay mines

Sudan

(See also, UAR)

1959

Sept. 22· The sentences of two former ministers and members of the armed forces supreme council and four other army officers who tried to overthrow the Sudanese Government were commuted by President 'Abbud to life imprisonment with dismissal from the army

Sept 25· President Ibrahim 'Abbud announced the permanent appointment of Major General Maqbul al-Haqq as Minister of Communications, Irrigation and Agriculture

Oct 7. A Sudanese ministerial mission with numerous advisers arrived in Cairo to resume negotiations for an equitable share of Nile waters now that the UAR is going ahead with the Aswan high dam projects

Oct 14· The leader of the Sudanese delegation in Cairo announced that representatives on the first sub-committee had drawn up a trade and payments agreement which will be put in its final form before the week-end

Oct. 30· No agreement has been reached on the Nile waters talks, it was reported in Cairo, but Sudanese delegates expressed hopes that agreement will soon be reached

Nov 9· Mutinous troops fought regular army forces in Khartum's streets led by three unidentified officers The revolt began in the Infantry School of Omdruman President 'Abbud declared that the outbreak was a "continuation" of last May's events

Nov 11· Seven arrests were reported in the wake of the unsuccessful revolt yesterday. No state of emergency has been proclaimed

Nov 14. Trial began in Khartum of two armed officers, six former officers and two civilians charged with conspiring to mutiny

Nov 15· At the trial an army captain gave evidence that the leaders of the latest aborative coup demanded that the 'Abbud government should relinquish power, that all military prisoners should be released, and that a national conference should be held to discuss Sudan's future

Nov 17 In the course of his speech marking the first anniversary of the new régime in Sudan, President 'Abbud referred to his government's plans for new industries in the Sudan

Nov 24· President 'Abbud said in an interview published in Cairo by the *Al-Akhbar* that the Communist dänger in the Sudan had increased recently He attributed the recent conspiracies to them

Lieutenant Colonel 'Ali Hamid was convicted by a court martial for leading the recent revolt

Dec 2· Five leaders of the abortive coup were hanged in North Kober central prison

Dec 3 Water conservation schemes were outlined by the Ministry of Irrigation and Hydro-Electric Power now that the Sudan has been assured of a larger share of the Nile waters after the construction of the Aswan high dam The most important is the Roseires dam on the Blue Nile, proposed to be completed by 1966 and a smaller dam at Khashm al Girba The cost of this dam will be met by part of the £S15 million which the Sudan will receive from Egypt as compensation for the flooding of the Wadi Halfa area

Dec 9· A Yugoslav military delegation left Khartum after a ten-day visit of northern and southern Sudan

Tunisia

1959

Sept 18· The Tunisian newspaper *Al-Amal* published an editorial which was clearly favorable in its reaction to President de Gaulle's declaration with regard to Algeria

Sept. 19: A trade agreement between Tunisia and Russia was signed in Tunis by Sayyid Ahmad Mistiri, Secretary of State for Finance and Commerce, and Mr Pankratov, Russian Deputy External Trade Minister

Sept. 22: Sayyid Salah Bin Yusuf, a Tunisian political leader in exile in Cairo, accused President

Habib Bourguiba of "odious blackmail" against the Algerian Provisional Government in order to induce it to accept the "enslaving de Gaulle plan"

Sept 30: Walter N. Walmsley, new US Ambassador to Tunisia, arrived in Tunis.

Oct 1: Tunisia began its new policy of "non-adherence" to the French Customs Union by which she continues to trade with France and other members of the Customs Union of the French Bloc but at the same time carry out trade negotiations with markets competing with the zone

Oct 3: The Tunisian high court sentenced 15 men to death and 108 to various terms of imprisonment on charges of plotting to murder President Habib Bourguiba.

Oct. 10: President Habib Bourguiba inaugurated the National Agricultural Bank of Tunisia which could lend to peasants at 2 per cent interest

Oct. 14: Eight Tunisians were hanged for attempting to assassinate the President and for charges of subversion

Nov 7: On the eve of Tunisia's first national elections as a republic, President Habib Bourguiba, lone presidential candidate, was assured of re-election

Nov. 8: President Bourguiba is re-elected and women voters were unveiled for the first time

Nov 9. More than 90 per cent of Tunisia's registered voters gave overwhelming approval to President Habib Bourguiba and his Neo-Destour party, incomplete election results showed The Communist opposition drew less than 3,000 votes

Nov. 11: The news of President Eisenhower's visit was greeted with much satisfaction.

Nov. 12: President Habib Bourguiba, host and ally of the ministers of the Algerian Provisional Government, urged them publicly at a press conference to accept the de Gaulle offer to go to Paris

Tunisia was invited to become a provisional member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, pending negotiations in September next year at a tariff conference in Geneva

Nov 14: The financing of a dam to catch the waters of the Oued Nabana, near Kairouan in central Tunisia is being discussed by the Government with the US Development Loan Fund

Nov 15: The political orientation of Tunisia appears to be veering toward the left as President Bourguiba studies socialism for methods of reform

Nov 16: Britain and Tunisia signed a trade agreement under which two export lists were established for Tunisia, one for the UK and Ireland and the other for dependent British territories.

Nov 17: Tunisia will be the first country in Africa to use the atomic energy, Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali al-Annabi, Tunisian atomic energy commissioner said The International Atomic Energy Agency has agreed to send two officials in Tunis for 6 to 9 months and provide materials worth $10,000

Nov 21. The granting of visas to the three-man delegation of Algerian nationalists who will attend the UN debate put an end to criticism of the US that had been growing in Tunis among Algerians and Tunisians because of the long delay.

Nov. 26: The Government nationalized the Tunis electricity, gas, and water services, formerly controlled by a French company with subsequent protest from French employees and a request by the French Government to justify the decision and compensate the shareholders

Dec 10. President Bourguiba said in Tunis that he would "look elsewhere" for loans if the US did not grant them.

Turkey

(*See also,* General, Cyprus, Syria)

1959

Sept 22 Foreign Minister Zorlu arrived in New York to preside over the Turkish delegation to the UN General Assembly, and also to attend the Ministerial Council meetings of the CENTO, of the IMF, and the IBRD

Oct 1: Three US officers who complained about alleged Turkey brutality to four American prisoners have been transferred from the NATO's base in Izmir One of the detained officers demanded a Congressional investigation

Oct. 10 Negotiations for the construction of an IRBM base in Turkey have been completed, it was announced in Washington. This gives Turkey the third IRBM base in the Western defense system

Oct. 11: A spokesman for the Turkish delegation to the UN predicted that Turkey would take the lead tomorrow in her race against Poland for a seat on the Security Council

Oct 18 The Foreign Ministry statement pertaining to the sailing vessel intercepted off Cyprus declared that it was owned by three Turkish nationals, fishermen by trade It denied, in effect, that the Turkish Government encouraged the smuggling of arms

Oct 25. An earthquake hit the small town of Hinis, southwest of Erzurum in Eastern Turkey, resulting in the death of 8 persons and the destruction of more than 300 buildings

Oct 28 Two US sergeants were freed on bail after having spent eighty-eight days in jail on charges of black-market money deals. Meanwhile the trial of three policemen on beating charges was recessed to November 21

Oct. 29 The 36th anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Republic was celebrated

Nov. 1: President Celal Bayar delivered his annual speech on the occasion of the re-opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in Ankara in which he outlined Turkey's view of developments on the international scene.

Nov 4· President Eisenhower disclosed to the press his intended visit to Turkey during his projected 19-day goodwill tour

Nov 10 Solemn memorial exercises throughout Turkey marked the twenty-first anniversary of the death of Kemal Ataturk

Nov 14 The last of the four airmen accused of black-market deals was released on bail

Nov. 18 President Ayub Khan of Pakistan arrived in Ankara for a two-day official visit He was received by President Celal Bayar

Nov 22 Eighteen US Army and Air Force men were reported to have been transfered in the wake of the controversy stirred by the case of four airmen accused of illegal currency exchanges

Nov 30· Expansion of steel and iron ore production in Turkey with the assistance of a $15 million credit from the US EXIMBANK to finance purchases of heavy equipment in the US was announced by the Bank's President, Samuel C Waugh

Dec 1 A 10-man mission arrived in Brussels to resume the talks on Turkey's association with the European Economic Community According to reports from Ankara, it has already been agreed that Turkey's link with the six-nation community will take the form of an associate membership for a transitional period of 10 years

Dec. 6 President Eisenhower and his party arrived in Turkey for a two-day visit

Dec 7 An official communiqué issued on President Eisenhower's departure from Ankara said among other things that any plan for peace or easing of international tensions must be accompanied by an efficient and properly controlled system of disarmament The US renewed its continued support to the economic development of Turkey and the pledge of security

United Arab Republic

1959

Sept. 17: Raymond A Hare, US ambassador to the UAR, was received by President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir, the Cairo radio reported

Sept 19· President Nasir reiterated that Israeli ships had no right to enter UAR territorial waters

Sept 21 Dr 'Abd al-Mun'im Qaysuni, UAR Minister of Economy, conferred with Mr Eugene Black, president of the IBRD, about a possible loan for the development of the Suez Canal.

Sept 27· The Syrian Communist leader in exile, Sayyid Khalid Bakdash made a speech about the UAR during the 10th anniversary of the Communist régime in Peking which gave rise to a protest by the UAR chargé d'affaires there

Sept 30· The UAR Deputy Foreign Minister handed a protest note to the Chinese Ambassador in Cairo which demanded for an explanation of this "violation of the principle of peaceful co-existence" by allowing a renegade to make "a flagrant attack that will damage relations between the two countries"

Oct 3 Foreign Ministry officials in Cairo charged that the Chinese Communists were deliberately delaying diplomatic cables sent by the UAR's embassy in Peiping

It was reported in Ismailia that the Suez Canal is exceeding pre-1956 records and that the new régime is able to handle the heavy traffic efficiently

Oct 5· Dr Mamud Fawzi, Foreign Minister of the UAR accused Israel of artificially causing a crisis by pushing her demands to use the Suez Canal

Oct 8 President Nasir says he is ready to accept a UN commission that would implement all UN resolutions relating to Israel and the Arabs This would include the 1951 Security Council resolution calling for freedom of shipping in the Suez Canal

Oct 10 An agreement on the avoidance of double taxation was signed by UAR and US representatives in Washington for the purpose of encouraging private American investments

The Russian consulate in Cairo cancelled its lease of a Port Said cinema where it had been presenting Russian films because the public has been boycotting the shows Moscow radio complained that prospective patrons were intimidated by the authorities

Oct 12 *Al-Ahram* accused Moscow radio of lying when it alleged that the UAR was angling for western military aid The West refused to sell arms to the UAR, and not because the latter was unwilling to buy them, the paper said

Oct 17 A decree abolished the separate posts of chief of staff in the army, navy, and air force and assigned to them the title of commander-in-chief

Oct 19· Australia and the UAR agree to resume diplomatic relations

Oct 25 It was learned that Sayyid Kilani would fly back to Peking as the UAR's dispute with Communist China was resolved and the Cairo press dropped its attacks

Oct 30· President Nasir accepted the resignation of Sayyid Hasan Ibrahim as chairman of the Board of Economic Organization His position was taken over by Dr 'Abd al-Mun'im Qaysuni who is also Minister of Economy

Nov 1 The UAR and the Sudan are ready to sign an agreement to end the dispute about the division of the Nile waters which arranges for more trade

Nov 2. President Nasir issued a decree placing state land, with the exception of the areas used by various ministries, under the supervision of the agrarian reform organization.

Nov 3 The UAR will pay the Sudan 15,000,000 Egyptian pounds for Sudanese lands in the Wadi Halfa area that will be flooded by the Aswan High Dam, *Al-Ahram* said

Nov. 8: The Sudan and the UAR signed an agreement on the division of the Nile waters, a trade and payments agreement and a customs agreement

Nov 10· Premier Khrushchev has told a Cairo editor that the Soviet Union is ready to continue aid to the UAR

Nov 14 The US and the UAR signed an agreement to send 150,000 tons of surplus wheat and barley to Syria.

Nov. 19: A mission of the IMF arrived in Cairo to study currency regulations in the UAR and ways and means of control on expenditure

Nov. 22. Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia informed President Nasir at the conclusion of his state visit that he is unwilling to join a third power block and that he wants to be neutral

Nov 26 US Development Loan Fund financing for at least seven projects in Cairo and in Syria will be given "expeditious consideration" by both Governments

Dec 1 Cairo and London jointly announced the re-establishment of diplomatic relations

The UAR decided to call a special meeting of the Arab League to consider Israel's intention to divert the course of the river Jordan

Dec 4 The UAR denied a report that its diplomats in Panama were encouraging an anti-US group advocating violent seizure of the Canal Zone.

Dec 8 The UAR will ask the Arab League to approve the erection of a dam in Syria to stop the Jordan's waters from reaching Israel if the Israelis tap the river for an irrigation project

Dec 9 Britain formally resumed diplomatic relations with the UAR when Colin Crowe, Chargé d'affiaires, presented his credentials to Deputy Foreign Minister Zulfiqar Subri

Egypt

1959

Sept 17. A republican decree has been issued placing the Egyptian Petroleum Cooperative Society under the supervision of the UAR General Petroleum Authority

Sept 18 Three years after martial law put them out of business, British and French business men and property owners in Cairo are finding their way back to their old stands

Sept 22· James Swinburn returned to England after spending nearly three years in an Egyptian prison He was granted amnesty from his 5-year sentence for espionage

Sept 23: Some 5,000 students and workers rallied in protest against the Iraqi execution of 13 revolutionary leaders

Oct 11 The disappearance frm the Aswan Museum of a golden bust of the sun god Horus and a ruby-studded gold ring was reported by *al-Ahram*

The UAR Ministry of Industry has agreed to issue a two-month permit to the Pan American International to make a preliminary survey of the potential oil resources of the Western Desert in the Egyptian Region

Oct 18 The Egyptian Minister of Rural and Municipal Affairs told the press that a preliminary agreement had been reached for Czech equipment and materials worth LL50 million to be supplied to Egypt on a long-term credit basis.

Oct 24 An intensive search is under way for two Americans, two Frenchmen and their guide who have been reported lost in the Nubian Desert

Oct 26 An Egyptian frontier patrol reported that it had found the bodies of one American and two Frenchmen missing in the Nubian Desert

Oct 27· A UNEF communiqué said that fire had swept through the force's hospital burning it to the ground within an hour

Nov 4 A medical report said that the death of the inexperienced guide who led two Americans and a Frenchmen on a fatal trek across the Nubian Desert was caused by violence.

Nov. 25· Oil reservoirs to meet domestic needs for a year at a time are to be built in several parts of Egypt at a total cost of £E1, 750,000, the Ministry of Supply said

Nov 30 World Bank's Director of ME Operations, Mr Rucinski left Cairo for Washington after a six-day visit for final talks on the proposed loan for the Suez Canal improvement program Press reports say that a loan of $56 5 million repayable in 18 years has been agreed

Dec 2· The first group of Russian staff left Cairo for the construction site of the Aswan High Dam

Syria

1959

Sept 20. The Syrian Ministry of Industry announced that the oil storage facilities to be constructed at the Homs Refinery would have sufficient capacity to meet Syrian fuel requirements over a period of 80 days

Sept 22 Turkish soldiers are officially stated to have crossed into Syria in the Ifrin area, Allepo province, and tried to kidnap shepherds and steal their flocks

Oct 5 Syrian security and customs men fought with a sixty-man band of smugglers said to have been guarded by six Turkish soldiers on the Turkish-Syrian border

Exiled Syrian Communist leader Khalid Bakdash will be tried in absentia on charges of "high treason and intriguing against the UAR and Syrian-Egyptian Unity," the *al-Nasr* reported

Oct 21. President Nasir gave Field Marshal 'Abd al-Hakim 'Amir full authority over the Syrian

Cabinet, making him responsible only to President Nasir himself.

Nov. 19. Contracts for 45,000 tons of Syrian cotton have been concluded since the beginning of the season last September, the Ministry of Economy said This compared with 28,000 tons for the same period last year

Nov 20 An agreement with the Becker Company, of Munich, to carry out technical surveys for the building of an international airport 15km south-east of Damascus was signed

Nov 26· *Syria has a central executive again after* months of operating like a state without a governor Field Marshal 'Abd al-Hakim 'Amir who arrived on October 12 has since began to restore the faith of Syrians in the Arab League by expediting Syrian development projects and organizing a National Union

The Minister of Economy disclosed that Rumania was ready to contribute towards proposed development projects in Syria

Dec 2· New factories providing employment for at least 25,000 workers will be established in Syria during the next three years, the Minister of Industry told a press conference

Dec 9· An agreement on transit trade between Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon was signed in Damascus

The Directorate of Propaganda and Information banned the entry into Syria of the New York revue *Confidential* for supporting Israel and Zionism

Dec 10: Ten men from the Majdal Shams village were sentenced to death on spying for Israel charges

Yemen

(*See also*, Aden)

1959

Oct. 6· Sayyid Muhammad Kamil 'Abd al-Rahim urged the UN General Assembly to send a mission to Yemen to investigate what he described as Britain's "secret war" against the people of Oman He spoke of the "massing of thousands of British troops there"

Oct. 10: Yemen is reported to be signing an oil agreement with ENI

Oct 15· The UK rejected as unfounded Yemen's "allegations of infringement of the frontier between Yemen and the Aden Protectorate" and said that it was perturbed by Yemen's unsubstantiated allegations

Nov. 10 The Yemen Government announced in Ta-izz the signing of a joint exploration agreement for oil, gas and minerals with the American Overseas Investment Company

Nov 17. West Germany has agreed on economic co-operation with Yemen and to give her technical aid, it was announced

Nov 18· It was reported in Cairo that efforts by President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir to give technical assistance to Yemen are being rebuffed by Imam Ahmad

Dec 1: A protocol for Soviet technical aid for the development of agriculture in Yemen was agreed in Moscow. According to Cairo sources, the USSR has agreed to a loan of 80 million rubles for this purpose

ECONOMIC REVIEW

Marketing and Business Practices in Afghanistan

Hakim A. Hamid

AFGHANISTAN today lacks both newer methods of distribution and the motivations to change its practices. Historical events caused economic stagnation, and the result has been a general inefficiency in the marketing pattern of the country For example, in many parts of Afghanistan the ancient practice of bartering is still continued. The Afghan people have so far failed to discover easier and better ways of access to their internal or international markets.

While much attention has recently been given to agricultural, industrial and educational problems, no comprehensive study has examined the trade patterns and the marketing structure of the country Yet much can be done in this area of economic activity.

Business Facilities

In Afghanistan, there are no collected and analyzed materials about sales, costs and margin figures so that each individual firm can compare its performance with the average as determined statistically. Similarly, in Afghanistan the merchants have some of the following disabilities:

There are no business consulting services

There are no trade publications, such as *Advertising Age* or *Department Store Economist.*

With the exception of the Afghan Chamber of Commerce, there are no organizations and societies to lecture to merchants about wholesaling and retailing trade

There are few people who have an adequate knowledge of bookkeeping and accounting in the country.

Also, institutions such as advertising agencies, insurance companies, consumer societies and the like are virtually unknown. Except for air service and motor vehicle transportation there is no modern transportation system. Most of the goods and passenger traffic in Afghanistan are carried by trucks. Motor-truck services, which are operated and owned mostly by private trucking concerns, are by far the most popular system of transport. Similarly, there are no free-port facilities, no railways and pipelines. There are no facilities for processing, grading and standardization. Marketing is also handicapped by the lack of uniform weights and measures

However, there has been a rapid development of air travel and several flights are scheduled each day, leaving from various cities. The Aryana Airlines, a joint undertaking of Afghanistan and Pan American Airlines, which provides domestic and international services, is the most important line The Government owns and operates a telephone system linking Kabul with most of the important cities and towns The telegraph connects Afghanistan with most European cities and the United States. Air mail and parcel post services are available. Air mail documents to and from Afghanistan can be registered. Parcel post packages weighing up to a maximum of eleven pounds may be sent to Afghanistan by surface or air parcel post.

Trade Practices

Domestically, terms of credit vary, depending upon the commodity and the credit standing of the purchaser. Similarly, Afghan

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foreign traders adapt their terms of credit to the commodity and credit standing of the purchaser. Irrevocable letters of credit are used in connection with business transactions with foreign firms The terms may also be cash against sight documents of sixty days or more, c.i.f. quotations—usually in United States dollars—are preferred and speculation in the bazaar is more prevalent than investment in financial and industrial enterprises. Generally, to a wholesaler, retailer, or peddler, the highest immediate profit based upon his own intuitive feel of the market is a better alternative than adopting the cautious procedure of following accurate information and statistics on both domestic and international markets. Bargaining is the alternative to fixed prices. Profit margins are high Stores are not attracted to the idea that lower prices might increase their sales In many cases, the merchants deal in potentially fast-moving items. With the exception of large department stores, mixed prices and *caveat emptor* are the rule. There is always a high variation in spread between wholesaler and retailer prices. Thus, sellers seek to make the maximum profit in each individual transaction Accompanied by a minimum of rational business practices, such as elaborate bookkeeping, market research, promotion and service policy, Afghan businessmen have a great need to recognize the importance of assistance from their counterpart Western merchants and from educators.

Business hours throughout the country are generally from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. with a usual lunch period from 12 noon to 1 p.m. Generally there are six days of work, offices and banks are closed on Thursday afternoon. Friday is set as the weekly holiday The metric system has been officially adopted, but distances are sometimes expressed in miles. All domestic business is conducted according to the national calendar. The Afghan calendar has twelve months and begins on the spring equinox, March 21 The current year (March 1959-March 1960) is 1338.

Marketing Structure

Afghanistan has made little progress in marketing. There are no chainstores, no supermarkets, no self-service retailing, no mail order houses; there is no tendency toward consumer cooperatives. There are few local firms that act as manufacturers' agents or exclusive distributors. Just as industrialization and the factory system are underdeveloped, the pattern of marketing activities is similarly uncomplicated. The intricacies that exist in the pattern of marketing in the United States are not understood Marketing channels are not clearly defined. Marketing institutions are characterized by a considerable diversification of functions The importer may perform the functions of the wholesaler, retailer, sales representative, or exporter. He may sell to retailers, bazaar shops, or to ultimate consumers at retail prices.

According to the Afghan Chamber of Commerce, there are over six hundred business firms in the country These consist of stock companies, general mrechants, wholesalers and importers Among the wholesalers, classification is conventionally divided into two categories: importer-wholesaler and village wholesaler. Each category is described in some detail below

Wholesalers

In Afghanistan, wholesale trade is not distinguished in terms of establishments, commodity groups, or lines of trade City wholesalers are generally importers. On the other hand, village wholesalers are dealers

Importer-wholesalers. The city wholesaler, who in this study is referred to as the importer-wholesaler, is deeply rooted in the past history of international trade of Afghanistan He is familiar with all types of ventures. Particularly, he is a specialist in the functions of international trade. At this time, any attempt beyond the above categories would present quite an inaccurate and confusing picture. However, if time would permit making a primary study, wholesalers could be grouped into related commodity groups, that is, a major classification of groups of wholesaler establishments by kinds of business can be researched.

As pointed out, the key factor in the marketing of imported manufactured goods is

the importer-wholesaler. He generally acts as a large wholesaler. He may be a specialist, a general merchandiser, or a general line importer-wholesaler. Similarly, he may be simultaneously referred to as a "wholesaler," "general merchant," "importer," and "exporter." He sells to village wholesalers and to Kabul retailers. He occasionally may have retail business of his own. In short, a considerable quantity of consumer goods moves from importer-wholesaler to retailers and bazaar shops, where some commodity specialization is practiced and to village wholesalers, who distribute the commodity in rural areas.

Though not always, the importer-wholesaler often offers some service to his retailers in Kabul and to his village-wholesalers in rural areas. That is, he characteristically does not provide technical services and traveling salesmen; however, he does the following: furnishes storage; provides credit at high interest rates; buys in quantity and sells on account; makes deliveries.

The majority of prominent importer-wholesalers are concentrated in Kabul. The importer-wholesalers congregate in Kabul partly because of market considerations, and partly because of its availability to financing institutions Although they are in a strategic position to determine the need and type of goods which can be sold, they are not thoroughly aware of the modern marketing techniques. For example, they do not stock at convenient places, nor provide technical information to customers, nor maintain a service department, nor cater to an interest in advertising.

Village wholesalers, or the regional wholesaler. These are located in rural areas. They travel to Kabul where they procure their goods from the importer-wholesaler and do not generally import from other nations They distribute their products to many small sub-areas. Since the importer-wholesaler often experiences difficulties in reaching the rural and village market, he finds in the village or the regional wholesaler the best channel for marketing his products.

Organization of importer-wholesaler firms. Generally speaking, an importer-wholesaler firm is operated on a single proprietorship or a partnership basis. Management is usually divided among a specialized group of individuals, rather than on the basis of departments or function. Tending toward centralization, each individual is subject to general supervision and authority of the enterprise. Proprietors own the firm, and from them all authority must be delegated There is an undue reliance upon the decision of one man. Types of functions which are usually and largely responsible for carrying the total operation, may be listed as follows:

1. Direction	Manager
2. Merchandise	Manager or Assistant Manager
3. Export Advice	Outside Appraiser
4. Control	Controller or Bookkeeper
5. Service and Traffic	Personnel

Partners are referred to as "managers." Managers are nominated either in the act of organization or by subsequent decisions of associates. The ultimate test of the soundness of a manager's decision depends on import purchases. Because promotion is a less important factor in the career of an Afghan wholesaler, he directs much attention to the buying angle.

Buying methods of the importer-wholesaler. Wholesalers buy in large quantities They place their orders for new stock when they run out of the item and buy quantities of goods on the basis of past sales, rather than on future potential. They frequently do run out of stock, and do not employ budgets or inventory controls. Since all buying decisions must ultimately come to the owners or managers, the owners are more interested in total gross and net profit. They may check on an item from time to time, but are not certain to judge sales response in relation to the effort exerted in behalf of a particular item. Guesswork, intuition and experience are favored.

The function of selling is usually carried out by the owner on his premises, aside from the functions of appraisers or brokers.

Brokers

Brokers are the intermediaries between the importer-wholesaler and retailer. The broker charges eight to ten per cent commission Occasionally, he gathers fifteen to twenty shop-merchants and deals for them with a large importer-wholesaler house Sometimes brokers extend credit to small shopkeepers, but they do not actually finance the goods. Similarly, brokers usually make contractual settlements between the buyer and the seller regarding such matters as terms and price

Retailers

The flow of manufactured goods after goods reach wholesaling channels is described hereunder in three parts. (1) itinerant traders, (2) the bazaar and (3) department stores.

Itinerant traders In Afghanistan, itinerant traders are still quite common Since the market is sparsely populated and customers are located in distant areas, itinerant traders carry manufactured goods on their own backs or the backs of animals to villages However, as cities grew, many itinerant traders settled and established shops. Since inaccessibility of markets and high cost of transportation are discouraging to a wholesaler or a large retailer wishing to open branches, the people and the marketing institutions of rural areas must depend upon the peddler. Since his volume is small, his turnover low, and his cost of transportation high, a two hundred to three hundred per cent differential between Kabul prices and the peddler's price is not an unusual range.

In summary, inadequacy of the transport system and inaccessibility have tended to hold communities into self-contained economic units, and to perpetuate a dependency on itinerant traders.

The bazaar and the shops. To Westerners, the bazaar is the most interesting channel of distribution. Here, the shopkeeper assembles, stores, displays, and sells unusual materials, *objets d'art*, and unique antiques. For example, a shop may display shawls and embroidered goods from the north of Afghanistan, textile goods from Gulbahar, Japan and India, and manufactured goods from the United States and Europe. Similarly, there are many small shops which specialize in a particular line of business, such as shoes and jewelry. In the bazaar, related groups of stores are in convenient centers

The multiplicity of small shops is one indication of the inefficient marketing mechanism They operate by old-fashioned methods, their policy of high mark-up and low rate of stock turnover are well known. Correspondingly, their merchandise is piled on shelves with little attempt at attractiveness, and products are unmarked and unfixed. They deal with customers by means of individual bargaining

Department Stores. Shortly after 1925 a number of significant changes took place in the retailing distribution of Kabul. These changes centered around the establishment of a few department stores The department store represents an important departure from the traditional methods of merchandising practised under the management of small shops.

In comparison to the department stores in the United States, the Kabul department stores are extremely small, and thus in a strict sense cannot be called department stores. However, they sell in much larger quantity, they assemble, display and sell a wide variety of merchandise, they are typically situated in higher priced shopping areas and they sell at a fixed and marked price. We may then call them by this name

The first Kabul department store was sponsored by Hajji Abdul Hamid and Abdul Aziz. The firm adopted the fundamentals of the metier and the success of the firm was similar to that of the Bon Marché in Paris. Although this sponsorship took place seventy years after the Bon Marché, the steps were associated: (1) A fixed and marked price policy, (2) Free entrance to all; (3) Lower mark-up for the advantage of large volume, (4) A policy permitting exchange of merchandise already purchased by the customer.

The department store has tended, by its

buying and merchandising methods, to short-cut the brokers and sometimes even the importer-wholesaler, and to establish direct connection with basic sources. Similarly, there are various advantages exercised by Afghan department stores over retailing institutions Some advantages are created by the complex nature of the department store, others are due to newer methods. They are·

1. The Kabul department store has the opportunity to purchase at reduced prices through direct buying Thus, the department store can afford to give larger discounts and better terms than other stores
2. The store has an unusual prestige. The consumer is confident when he makes a purchase, a confidence that the consumer has for no other retailing organization
3. It has a rapid inventory turnover that no other retail organization can equal, and thus the investment is usually in motion
4. It has a better assortment of goods
5. It has a better credit operation.

Superiority over other retailing organizations is not the complete answer. Indeed, many important steps are ignored by the organizer of the present day department store. At the present, salesmen are inefficient and ineffective They have inadequate knowledge of the product, of its uses, how it will perform, and so on They will go through the motions of selling, but they generally lack genuine interest in customers and their buying problems. They have an unfavorable approach to the customer and crude methods of answering his questions. The reason for this is that the salesmen are not adequately trained. Other fundamentals which can be carried in mind are summarized as follows: the Kabul department store takes little advantage of promotion and advertising; makes no effort toward modern store and window displays; makes no effort to expand and establish branch houses; makes no attempt to separate the functions of the business, such as merchandising, purchasing, supervision, inventory accounting and control, and receiving and stocking merchandise.

The above list is by no means exhaustive, but represents some of the more important defects, especially in comparison with methods in the United States.

Recommendations

Recommendations regarding some of the problems in the marketing operation of importer-wholesalers and retailers are extremely delicate Opening a business in Afghanistan is a relatively simple matter Since a man with limited capital can enter business, there is little to deter an entrant. He opens a shop because he is convinced that he knows as much as his competitors

Many reasons can be given for the high business mortality rate in Afghanistan, such as neglect, speculation, excessive inventory, incompetence on the part of the owner, poor records, poor salesmanship, and too much reliance on traditions Looked at in this way, it is safe to say that these characteristics are the result of inefficiency, laziness and inexperience

Generally, Afghans establish a business for profit motives. However, as long as merchants persist in planning on the basis of tradition alone, they will continue to lose both sales and profits It can be demonstrated that, since, in most instances, merchants are not achieving optimum performance, they can be assisted by recommendations regarding some of their problems If our analysis is accurate thus far, then there are two ways to approach the problem· introduction of new ideas, methods and techniques of wholesale and retail marketing; performance of existing tasks more efficiently, thereby reducing costs

By the introduction of new ways of marketing operations that cut across traditional methods, tentative recommendations can be made to merchants who are concerned with opportunities The recommendations, by stages, are as follows

Buying

Buying ability. It is necessary for a buyer to know what, where and when to buy. As has been said, insufficient data exist to obtain any accurate knowledge of the market Thus, the following suggestions are believed to be feasible:

Exchange of ideas. There are no publications in Afghanistan about wholesaling and retailing in general, and, with the exception of the Afghan Chamber of Commerce, there are no formal organizations to facilitate the exchange of experience and information Therefore, there should be cooperation among the various department stores and wholesalers, as well as an exchange between the two groups. Since wholesalers have usually visited European countries, they should be invited by department stores to participate in the solution of problems. Methods and results of these experiences need to be published to show what is practical.

Past sales records. Another method to help merchants in their buying problems is to encourage the use of standardized systems of bookkeeping and merchandise assortment.

In Afghanistan, accounting was adopted earlier in the fields of manufacturing and banking; bookkeeping is now being applied in the department stores as well. The Afghan banks and corporations were impossible to manage until accounting was established sufficiently

Turnover

Stock turnover should be increased. With the above indications, we do not see how net profit could possibly result when the turnover (stock) is slow. A small merchant who has limited freedom of action and limited capital would be in a better position if he were to buy and sell on a hand-to-mouth basis. In this way, he could increase his stock turnover so that he would be able to get his money back quickly to pay for new items

One of the reasons why Afghan merchants have primarily a low stock turnover for fast and slow moving items is that they prefer to hold on to their inventories and wait for a price rise or fall. Thus, the feasibility of the above suggestions as to how fast stock turnover might be employed will, in many respects, depend upon the use of accurate information and statistics with reference to both domestic and international market trends. Since the Afghan Chamber of Commerce is conducting an investigation into the problems of business and since they have disseminated some publications, it is believed that the Afghan merchants will be willing to accept the importance of modern concepts of turnover.

Pricing

Fixed price. A fixed price system (department stores have employed a fixed price system) will cut down the cost of hiring extra workers. Similarly, it will eliminate bargaining, and it will bring about a pleasanter atmosphere of selling.

Bargaining has been the rule and it will not be changed overnight. However, more and more department stores and large shops have initiated the practice of selling merchandise at fixed prices. It is the belief of the writer that this system will ultimately spread to smaller stores.

Lower prices. For merchants who deal in slow-turnover high-priced items, the traditional procedure is quite acceptable. However, when merchants are dealing only in rapidly or potentially rapidly moving items, there can be no justification in following a relatively high price and low turnover system. If sales are increased sufficiently by lower prices, merchants can make more Afghanis of profit from a smaller percentage.

The existence of a slow turnover pattern on high priced items is easy to understand in Afghanistan when it is realized that, taking 1938 as the level of 100, the price level has risen 1000 per cent Buying in advance of immediate needs is common. Such buying is done in response to rumors of price change in the market. Many merchants hold on to their inventories and hope to sell them later at higher prices. However, it is generally believed that the price inflation has been so serious in the past twenty years that many concerns took very

heavy losses on merchandise in spite of the fact that they sold it at a higher price because their costs had risen faster. Thus, what is basically required is to convince merchants to use lower prices as a belief on their part that greater profit is possible when merchandise is sold for less with a resulting faster turnover.

Advertising

Radio as a medium. The masses in Afghanistan may not be able to read, but they can hear and see. Since department stores are to be found only in Kabul, these can obtain a comparatively large volume of sales, through extensive radio advertising, largely because they draw customers from a wider area. Especially, if special holidays are considered and if department stores display their items in time, they can profit from increased business. Examples would be such holidays as Id and the Independence Celebration. At Id, exchange of gifts is popular.

Media Stores other than department stores make virtually no use of advertising. Media such as posters, painted displays and other visual devices which are sufficiently productive could be employed very easily and with noticeable results.

Sufficient experiments in advertising have been made so that a pattern already has begun to emerge. Similarly, since advertising is no longer handicapped by many unfavorable conditions such as restricted and censored publications, the above-mentioned recommendations combined with the previous patterns, will present few difficulties

Personal Selling

As indicated, there is no such institution as an outside sales force in Afghanistan. Merchants have considered selling as a family affair They chose salesmen from within the organization—sons of partners—on the theory that such men can be trusted and can be trained for the future However, this belief is no longer true in larger cities because the sons of merchants are required to attend school. In fact, upon graduation, they may choose careers other than selling as a family affair.

Training salesmen. The practice of Afghanistan businessmen in sending salesmen on the road with little preliminary training is wasteful. Many department stores can establish sales manuals for the education of their salespeople.

Plant and Storage

Branch stores The Afghan department stores can certainly expand to other territories. There are no department stores in other areas than Kabul. However, there are four other cities of more than 75,000 people and another twenty-five cities of between 10,000 and 75,000 people To meet the objections of customers who dislike shopping in small and inefficient shops, the department stores should open branch houses in potential areas.

Decentralized storage. By decentralizing storage facilities at strategic places for the receipt of imported items and for later distribution to retailers, the wholesalers can achieve flexibility and speed.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL

Das Bild der Wuste, by Alfons Gabriel Vienna Verlag Adolf Holzhausen Nfg, 1958 282 pages 32 plates and 7 maps No price indicated

Reviewed by Elizabeth S Ettinghausen

Written by a well-known explorer, this book is an excellent study of the dry waste lands of our earth Although its contents are almost exclusively limited to the Old World, most of it applies to deserts everywhere.

The book is divided into two parts· the first contains the author's discussion of deserts in general, while the second one deals with specific dry areas. After short introductory characterizations of each desert land, the highlights from the desert travelogues of various explorers, like Hedin, Philby and the author himself are given In his selection Gabriel not only presents us with some fine descriptions of deserts and a valuable cross section of the literature on deserts, but also an excellent supplement to the first part of the book

The book amounts to an eulogy of the desert showing its great beauty and infinite variety of formations, color and light. Gabriel points out its special importance for the study of the history of the earth He gives a clear definition of the desert and the cause for its existence, which is primarily due to climatic conditions—the lack or small amount of precipitation coupled with dryness of the air The author points out the characteristic desert features and primarily destructive forces connected with it, he stresses the importance of the almost constantly blowing, unrestrained wind which, at times of highest velocity, molds, breaks up and levels its surface He evaluates the power of the sun and of the great changes in temperature and points out the lesser significance of the water. The resulting different desert types are discussed, like the mountainous, rocky, sandy and salt desert. The various gradations of deserts are dealt with, ranging from sterile full deserts to semi-deserts and steppe-like areas Noteworthy is Gabriel's statement that much of the desert is potentially rich.

All life in the desert depends on fairly sweet water originating not only from dew, occasional rain, temporary or rare permanent water courses, but also from the ground water sporadically appearing on the surface in water holes. Gabriel finally deals with the desert flora, its adaptation to the rigors of the climate, namely its water economy, its ability to withstand the wind and the sun and survive long dry spells by remaining dormant

According to the book many of the above mentioned features apply to desert fauna too Few animals, if any, live permanently in total desert Some obtain their water supply by drinking, others only from their food. In this and other ways they either adapt to or seek protection from the extremes of the climate, namely by hiding under plants or in caves or digging into the ground, venturing into the open only at night and going into aestivation during the hottest dry periods. The desert is populated only by fast moving animals which cover considerable ground for their foraging

A whole chapter deals with the camel Gabriel has only highest praise for it, stands up for its virtues and considers it indispensable for desert travel in spite of modern motorization.

The final chapter is devoted to the desert dweller, the man of the caravan, the lonely shepherd and especially the nomad who depends for his livelihood on his herds of camels, sheep and goats. The author stresses his independent, noble and hospitable though self-centered personality, his amazing memory and gift for orientation, his interests and cultural pursuits.

The author's presentation is inspiring and imbues the novice as well as the informed reader with the same fascination which Gabriel himself feels for the seemingly lifeless wide open spaces.

◊ ELIZABETH S. ETTINGHAUSEN, Herndon, Virginia, has traveled widely and lived in the Middle East. She recently completed a study for the MEJ of the influence of Islamic art on contemporary design.

INDEX ISLAMICUS, 1906-1955, by J. D Pearson. Cambridge: Heffer and Son, 1958. xxxvi + 897 pages. £5 4s.

Reviewed by Sidney Glazer

The compiler, his assistants, "encouragers, and financial underwriters" of this well conceived and ably executed volume have laid the orientalist profession and all seriously interested in the Islamic world under heavy obligation. This convenient and not unreasonably priced bibliographic tool will save researchers countless hours of time and, more important, insure a degree of completeness of references hitherto almost unattainable.

The number of books in the individual fields of Islamic studies is comparatively small, due principally to high publication costs. Since monographs are invariably reviewed in one or more of the standard journals and eventually catalogued by libraries, it has been comparatively easy for scholars to keep up with them. On the other hand, articles in periodicals, *Festschriften*, proceedings of congresses, etc. are very elusive and almost impossible to control. This, despite such aids as annual indexes of many journals, regular bibliography sections in *I B.L.A.*, *Oriens*, *MEJ*. and others.

The Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London is one of the few institutions in the world that systematically card catalogs periodical articles. The present volume is an expansion of its accumulation covering the fifty year period beginning with 1906. Some 500 periodicals, 120 *Festschriften*, and 70 volumes of proceedings of conferences and other collective works in western languages yielded a grand total of over 26,000 titles (unannotated). The items are numbered and arranged alphabetically by author under 43 main subject headings, each of which is divided and subdivided geographically, where possible, or in some logical order. With the aid of the detailed outline in the introduction and the author index it is possible to locate within a few minutes all articles on a given topic or by a particular scholar.

The *Index* covers in comprehensive fashion both eastern and western Islam in the regions of traditional orientalist concern, i e., from Morocco to Afghanistan. The adjacent areas, like Pakistan, Central Asia, and the Far East are treated more selectively. However, items of major Islamic content on, e.g., the Muslim dynasties of India, Central Asia, and parts of Africa, and Muslim influences on aspects of culture in lands where other religions are dominant, are fairly numerous. The emphasis is on the humanities, although the social sciences are generously represented.

Despite its massiveness, the book its not, indeed could not be, complete, except within its scope. For, many articles of prime interest have been published in other than orientalist journals, in *Festschriften* of non-orientalist scholars, etc. Surprisingly, a number of important journals in east European languages, *Middle Eastern Affairs*, and others seem to have been overlooked.

The main drawback, however, is that with few exceptions the articles come from western language journals. Yet, as the compilers themselves concede, many worthwhile articles were published in the Near East.

Quinquennial supplements of the *Index* have been promised and it is to be hoped that the editorial policy can be revised to permit inclusion of the journals of the Arab Academy of Damascus, Faculty of Arts of the University of Tabriz, etc. Their value will grow due to increasing scholarly activity in the Muslim countries, particularly by younger men trained in modern research techniques. Moreover, the number of western students able to handle Arabic, Turkish, and Persian as tool languages is steadily mounting.

Typographical and other mechanical errors are comparatively few, most of them in transliterations from Russian and other languages.

Perhaps the titles of all articles in the non-western European languages should have been translated No useful purpose was served by withholding from the list of expansions of journal abbreviations several sets of initials (ZKV, RMM, etc) on the grounds that they can be easily deciphered. The place of publication of the journals might well have been added. The excellence of typography and ease of reference are deserving of high praise

◇ SIDNEY GLAZER, Washington, D C

LE PROBLEME JURIDIQUE DE LIEUX SAINTS, by B. Collin Le Caire: Centre d'Etudes Orientales, and Paris Librairie Sirey, 1956 xiii + 434 pages 3000 francs.

Reviewed by Kenneth Cragg

It is perhaps ironical that when the exiled Psalmist vowed his unbroken devotion to Jerusalem he chose a metaphor from his natural manual dexterity. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning" For Jerusalem has taxed and still taxes the hands of those who have its legal or juridical custody The problems of the Holy Places go back far into history. This painstaking and comprehensive treatment of their long development and present status arose out of the intention to collect the relevant documents from a variety of sources These documents now form the second section of the present work They are preceded by a separately paged Study, which has its own index and bibliography

The Documents, here translated into French except those whose original text was English, extend from the middle of the 19th century until 1950, with some quoted texts from the 17th century. They cover negotiations between the Sublime Porte and European Powers in the days of "the Eastern Question," Memoirs from the Versailles Conference, the Balfour Declaration, various Papal Encyclicals, Orders in Council of the Palestine Mandatory, and the Statute for the City of Jerusalem of the United Nations of April 1950, with a final Israeli memorandum. Though some of these materials are accessible elsewhere their collection here makes a manual of great convenience and thoroughness for the student of ecclesiastical and political relationships in so delicate a field

The Holy Places in question are of course the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, Calvary and the edicule of the Tomb of Christ within the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Tomb of the Virgin in the Kedron Valley (because of its traditional ties with the two great shrines), with only incidental references to other sanctuaries in Nazareth and elsewhere. For purposes of exposition, the author makes a careful distinction between what he calls the *question* of the Holy Places (i.e., the rivalries of Christian confessions over what one may call "the rights of rites"—a subject dealt with in an earlier work *Les Lieux Saints*) and the *problem* of the Holy Places. The latter arises from the fact that the legal and political disposition of the basilicas was in Muslim hands for centuries and, more recently, came to be the concern of a Mandatory Government with international obligations and of a U N O Resolution In his conclusion, Professor Collin finds it necessary to abandon the distinction

He finds the U N.O proposal, for an internationalized city, the right solution for the juridical problem The *corpus separatum* envisaged in 1947 alone will create a haven of peace around the sanctuaries But he does not relish within this 'haven' a perpetuation of the *Status Quo* Though the Greek and Armenian Churches may be satisfied with it, the Roman Catholic Church is not (p. 197) The question and the problem, in other words, can only be rightly solved together! The conclusion is rather depressing, inasmuch as the 1947 Resolution remains a documentary dream and the author does not concern himself (perhaps wisely in a book already so full) with how it might be implemented in all the given circumstances, nor with the situation in the meantime

But though the ideal may be out of sight, he offers the reader a modicum of comfort in noting the favorable climate that exists (evident notably in cooperation over the physical restoration of the fabric of the Holy Sepulchre Church, so long overdue). The great mosques of Jerusalem have of late been very finely restored (the work is still proceeding at the Dome of the Rock). Even while juridical

problems, and questions, remain theoretically intractable, it would be an immense actual achievement, in an admittedly imperfect juridical world, if the sanctuaries of the Holy City and Bethlehem could similarly emerge from an architectural rejuvenation for this much travelling generation That the Holy Places should be capable of being visited is a matter of their status: that they should be capable of being blessedly visited in all their deep significance is a matter of their imaginative custody The second need not wait for jurists or diplomats. Meanwhile, all who care about either their status or their meaning will welcome this careful and exhaustive study.

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PERSIAN-ENGLISH PROVERBS, by Suleyman Haim Tehran· B & D. Beroukhim, 1956. 750 + 61 pages. $5.00

THE SHORTER PERSIAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY 2nd edition, by Suleyman Haim Tehran: Y Beroukhim & Sons, 1958 814 pages. $4 00

Reviewed by Sidney Glazer

Interestingness is not a quality normally associated with a dictionary Usefulness (in varying degrees) yes, readability no Yet Suleyman Haim, the indefatigable Persian bilingual lexicographer, has managed to combine both in his *Persian-English Proverbs* The result is an entertaining reference book of great value for different types of students of Persia.

The major beneficiaries will be those who have struggled with inadequate dictionary aids to read such writers as Jamalzadeh and Hedayat. These and other twentieth century authors have made heavy use of colloquial and regional speech in dialogue passages and elsewhere And not infrequently they link the title of a story, or even the entire point of it, to a proverb. Persian short stories and novels constitute one of the sprightliest and most original of contemporary Middle Eastern literatures In addition, they are unparalleled source of insights into the Persian character and way of life The colloquial and informal written language, which teems with proverbs and idioms based on them, has endured for over a millenium, but has been intentionally ignored by the lexicographers Thus, the Western reader of a Jamalzadeh story often has to guess at the meaning of a word or phrase unless he can consult a Persian friend. However, the new Haim effort together with one of his regular dictionaries (e g, that noted below) will substantially alleviate this problem

Investigators of Persia in general and of Persian folklore and proverbs in particular will find the dictionary a rich and enjoyable source of information. Using the scholarly Persian work of Ali Akbar Dehkhoda and some lesser compilations as controls, Haim has drawn from his notes of years of collection some 6000 proverbs arranged in alphabetical order of the first Persian word. Each item has a free, literal or English proverb equivalent, sometimes all three. Copious notes clarify difficult words, points of grammar, or variants. Not infrequently the fable or anecdote on which the proverb is based is cited in full. Some of these were put into verse by Sa'di, Hafez, Mowlavi, and others, reflecting the fact that the great Persian poets made considerable use of the popular speech of their own times and earlier.

The arrangement of items is awkward because the proverbs and idioms are listed separately While it is possible to make a valid theoretical distinction between the two, in practice it is very difficult A single list—arranged under key word or last word—would have been preferable as eliminating the need of a double search No special advantage is conferred by first word entry since numerous adaptations and multiple versions make it hard to locate an item by it. An index of key words, if not of all the words, would have facilitated use of the book for comparative studies or reference purposes

Another minor criticism is that the idiom list contains far too many items that even by the narrowest definition (Haim cities Webster· an idiom is an "expression the meanings of which cannot be derived as a whole from the conjoined meanings of its elements") do not belong. For example, *qabl az in* "before (from) this," which merely includes a preposi-

tion redundant from the English point of view, but one that does not obscure the meaning, *khal' selāḥ kardan* "to disarm," and many others.

The Shorter Persian English Dictionary is an abridgement of Haim's larger dictionaries, but with the inclusion of many modern political, scientific, and technological terms not found in the larger works. Although it contains only 30,000 words, the selection has been made so skilfully that with its aid one can read fairly widely in modern non-fiction with virtually total comprehension Ease of consultation is assured by adequately contrasting type fonts and a sturdy binding It can be unreservedly recommended as an inexpensive first dictionary for students past the elements of grammar and for all those planning travel or residence in Persia

◇ SIDNEY GLAZER prepares the bibliography section of the JOURNAL.

THE INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS OF YAQUT'S MU'JAM AL-BULDAN, translated and annotated by Wadie Jwaideh. Leiden: E. J Brill, 1959 Pp. xvi + 79. Paper, $3.50, Cloth, $3.75.

Reviewed by Nabih Amin Faris

For over seven centuries, the learned world of Arab studies has been depending on Yāqūt for most of its biographical and toponymical knowledge. His *Mu'jam al-Udabā'* (more properly known as the *Irshād al-Arīb ila Ma'rifat al-Adīb*) has been a veritable anthology of Arabic literature and the major reference for the biographies of Arab belles lettrists from the earliest beginnings of Arab letters down to Yāqūt's time (d.A.D. 1229). His *Mu'jam al-Buldān* has been a treasure house of geographical, historical, cultural, and literary lore and the principal Arabic source on the toponymy of the Near East. Today, both are indispensable to Arab and Islamic scholarship.

The present work offers, for the first time, an English translation of the introductory chapters of the *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, the geographical dictionary of the author. These comprise the author's introduction, and five chapters dealing with 1) the description of the earth, the mountains, the seas, and other features; 2) the seven climes, the disagreement concerning their nature, and the etymology of the word *iqlīm;* 3) the interpretation of terms repeatedly mentioned in the book; 4) the views of jurists on legal provisions governing *fay'* and *ghanīmah* lands and the manner of their division, and 5) some accounts of [certain] countries.

The importance of the dictionary itself has been firmly established and is in part reflected by the number of studies based on it. The importance of the introductory chapters has not received sufficient recognition. They reveal not only the vast scope of Yāqūt's researches but also his painstaking care in quoting earlier authorities and his scrupulous insistence upon recognizing his indebtedness to them. This is best illustrated by the *Kitab al-Asnam* of ibn-al-Kalbi, a source on the religious practices of pre-Islamic Arabia, for long thought lost and best known through Yāqūt's extensive use of its material. When at long last Ahmad Zaki Pasha was fortunate in locating a unique copy of the book, it turned out to be in exact identity with what Yāqūt had quoted and preserved. The introductory chapters establish Yāqūt as a discerning and thorough scholar and preserve for us the names of his predecessors and of their works, and the main substance of their contribution

A thorough collation of the translation with the original Arabic establishes Mr Jwaideh not only as a careful and an honest translator but also as a master of the art of rendition. The English version succeeds in reproducing the meaning of the Arabic text and in preserving to a large extent its style and quality In spite of a few oversights, such as giving me credit for preparing both an edition and an English translation of the *Kitab al-Asnam*, while I was only responsible for the translation, the notes are extremely helpful. Mr. Jwaideh has earned the thanks of all those who are interested in this all-important work of Yāqūt.

◇ NABIH AMIN FARIS was, during the past academic year, Visiting Professor at Princeton University He is a member of the faculty of the American University of Beirut.

ARAB WORLD

AL-MALIK AL-KÂMIL VON EGYPTEN UND SEINE ZEIT, by Hans L. Gottschalk. Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. x + 256 pages. No price indicated.

Reviewed by Franz Rosenthal

This thorough and detailed study deals with Near Eastern political history during the first four decades of the thirteenth century when al-Malik al-Kâmil, a nephew of Saladin and son of al-'Âdil, ruled Egypt and attempted to obtain exclusive control of the entire Ayyûbid realm. The work represents the product of many years of labor by a scholar well known for his research in Muslim history. It is based, as it should be, upon numerous indigenous sources, many of which are of outstanding quality. Their significance and reliability are carefully analyzed. Western sources are mainly used for purposes of control. The inside view thus obtained has the great advantage that it skirts the playing of historical favorites and leads to a seemingly well-balanced picture. Al-Kâmil's famous encounter with the European Christians at Damietta and his dealings with Frederick II receive careful attention (St Francis, however, is not mentioned), but no more so than the details of his Eastern policy and the portentous events that were brewing in the East. That the course of world history eventually made al-Kâmil's relations with the West more interesting, at least for us in the West, does not matter much for the history of the period.

Gottschalk's verdict on al-Kâmil as a historical figure amounts, it seems to me, to saying that he was a very capable but not a great ruler· "careful, cautious, easily discouraged . . . (with) a sense of the possible as a true statesman and little gifted strategist . . . obtaining through dogged persistence what his lack of daring denied him (112)." He inherited an important position as the result of his father's tripartition of his empire, that strange gambling device for hereditary succession repeatedly resorted to by powerful Muslim rulers. His attempts to gain undisputed supremacy were helped along by the timely deaths of his competitors more than by his own ingenuity, and he himself died when complete success seemed in sight, his "death marking the end of the Ayyûbid realm (234)." His foreign policy was, it seems, dictated by considerations of internal necessity or the requirements of the moment, and thus naturally failed in correctly evaluating the challenge that the Near East faced as a buffer zone between Asia and Europe and their restless peoples. And he did not establish any new and lasting political institutions, nor did he create or promote ideological trends, which would constitute a true claim to historical greatness as we understand it. To be sure, Muslim historians as a rule did not favor this kind of greatness and in their works preferred to depict greatness in terms of conformity to the conventional ideals evolved by their own cultural tradition. However, it does not seem that Gottschalk was misled by his sources. His accurate and sober portrayal of a man in a decisive position at a crucial period rings true. His work can thus claim some general historical interest, although in the first place, it will be widely used and consulted for the vast amount of factual information it contains.

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ARABIAN SANDS, by Wilfred Thesiger. London: Longmans Green and Co., Ltd.; New York. E P. Dutton and Co , 1959. xvi + 326 pages: 68 plates. 9 maps. $5.95.

Reviewed by Eric Macro

For Thesiger, exploration was a personal venture. He did not go to Arabia to collect plants or to make a map, such things were incidental At heart he knew that to write or even talk of his travels would be to tarnish the achievement. He went there to find peace in the hardship of desert travel and the company of desert peoples. Only the experienced can perhaps appreciate the sincerity of this philosophy. His companions were Muslim and Badu and he was neither. They had never heard of England and all Europeans were to them

known as "Christians." Their world was the desert and they had no interest in anything that happened outside it Bertram Thomas was the first European to go among them and he won their respect. Thesiger was welcomed because he belonged to the same tribe as Bertram Thomas. It is a pity that Thomas did not live to read Thesiger's book

With one very obvious (and militant!) exception there have ceased to exist authors qualified at first hand to write classics on the exploration of Arabia. This is probably the last one, certainly the last of the long sagas of unmechanized exploration—exploration for its own sake, like the climbing of Everest or the attainment of the South Pole Thesiger's Arabian work long ago secured its place in the annals of the pioneers of the Empty Quarter but it is satisfying to have, at last, a full narrative of his travels in a well illustrated, if expensive, book, in which so many familiar personalities of South Arabia are mentioned

Arriving at Salala in October 1945, Thesiger crossed the Qarra Mountains and travelled through the sands of Ghanim to Mughshin. On his return to Salala he set out with some Rashid tribesmen for Tarim along the southern edge of the sands He was the first European to undertake this journey After spending three months travelling some 3,000 miles in the Tihama of the Hijaz, he was back at Salala in October 1946 and, having crossed the Empty Quarter, turned east before reaching Liwa and returned to Salala along the western slopes of the Oman mountains. In March of the following year he again travelled into the Hadhramaut from Salala and left Mukulla for the Hijaz to approach the Empty Quarter from the North West. He was back in Mukulla in November 1947, spent two weeks in the Saar country and set out across the western sands to Sulaiyil He eventually reached Sharjah after being detained at Laila Had it not been for the intercession of Philby with King Ibn Saud, Thesiger would have been in very serious trouble. Having now crossed the Empty Quarter twice he proceeded in 1948-1950 to travel extensively in Oman and the Trucial States until finally, having incurred the displeasure of the Sultan of Muscat, he was forced to abandon the country which had become to him a complete obsession.

Thesiger's book is admirably written and he has succeeded well in conveying the atmosphere of life with his Badu companions, his attitude of mind, his hopes and fears, his leadership and determination But perhaps most of all it is the relentless opposition with which the sands themselves held out against his successful if dangerous, arduous and and soul destroying endeavours, which impresses the reader most The author's integrity, sincerity and modesty also impress. The journeys of his two predecessors, Thomas and Philby, are given due notice but some may be surprised at what appears to be an adherence to the tenets of T E. Lawrence Thesiger, like Lawrence, has his detractors and those might accuse him also of naivety and romanticism. They might also find tedious his over-emphasis of the qualities of the Badu and his preoccupation with certain of them However, they might take a different view had they heard him say "Now, listening to their talk and watching the little acts of courtesy which they instinctively performed, I knew by comparison how sadly I must fail, how selfish I must prove."

◇ Wing Commander Macro, Royal Air Force, a specialist on the bibliography and history of exploration of Southern Arabia and the Yemen, is currently at the Air Ministry, London.

Arab Unity: Hope and Fulfillment, by Fayez A. Sayegh New York: Devin-Adair, 1958 xvii + 272 pages; appendices, index. $4 00.

Reviewed by Richard H. Nolte

Dr. Sayegh is well known both in this country and the Arab world as perhaps the most articulate and effective expositor of the Arab nationalist point of view Born in Syria, educated in Palestine, the American University of Beirut and Georgetown University in Washington, Dr Sayegh brings to this role a wide and varied experience as teacher (AUB, Yale, Georgetown), editor, government representative, research director, UN official, political

analyst, public speaker and writer. After six or seven books in Arabic, and dozens of booklets, pamphlets, chapters and magazine articles both in English and Arabic, *Arab Unity,* represents the author's first book-length work in English.

His argument in brief is that along with other components of Arab nationalism the idea of Arab unity is a response to the political fragmentation of the Arab world during the 19th and early 20th centuries; that after the failure of the loose Arab League approach of 1945-55, the successful functional implementation of unity has now begun with the establishment of the United Arab Republic, the United Arab States, etc; and that the Arab aspiration for unity is not only legitimate, normal and desirable but that its further progress is also inevitable

The case for the first proposition is made during the first six chapters which constitute a useful survey of the background and genesis of the idea of Arab unity. There are, to be sure, points with which even those who accept the main argument may take issue. For one thing, Dr Sayegh considers that Arab unity existed unbroken from the conquests of the seventh century A D to the early 19th Century when the political fragmentation of the Arab world by European powers began Cultural and social unity no doubt did continue unbroken· in fact it continues still Indeed it has been strengthened by modern education and communications media and forms a main basis for the contemporary aspiration toward political unity But Dr Sayegh quite clearly is speaking of political unity, and political unity is the exception and not the rule of Arab history. Again, quite unnecessarily, one feels, he is at great pains to explain that while the goal of Arab unity was nowhere *explicit* in nationalist credos and slogans until fairly recently, it was always *implicit, inarticulate* and *potential* (italics his). In fighting for independence the Arabs were also fighting for unity even if they didn't say so. This is like asserting that the patriots of 1776 were fighting for American unity. They were not; they were fighting for independence Unity was a problem that arose later—and perhaps this too applies to the Arab situation. At any rate, one is left wondering why the author felt retrojection of the unity idea was important.

Still, if somewhat overstated, and although his personification of Arab unity as a sort of cherished blossom ripening in adversity will irritate some, Dr. Sayegh's background build-up is basically sound when taken together with Chapter 7, a refreshingly candid discussion of Arab obstacles to Arab unity

Together with a philosophical preface on the "ingression of ideas into practical reality," Dr. Sayegh presents in Chapters 8 through 14 under the rubric "The Idea of Arab Unity in Action" a review of the Arab League, its failures, and the steps leading up to the formation of the UAR, UAS, and the short-lived Arab Union of Iraq and Jordan (it is a measure of the author's acumen that although he completed *Arab Unity* before the Iraqi coup of 1958, he recognizes that the hastily promulgated Arab Union was not a real implementation of the unitary ideal). In the final chapter, the author draws certain general conclusions: that the idea of Arab unity is a major political fact in the Arab world, that there has been steady progress toward implementing the idea, and that progress will "inevitably" continue to be made because, independence having been achieved, the will of the Arab people despite the hindrances of foreign intervention will ultimately prevail. One may agree with this in the main, but not without asking whether anything can be said to be "inevitable" or whether "foreign intervention" has not been more of a spur than a hindrance in the success of Arab nationalism and the idea of unity Official documents including the Proclamation of the U.A.R., the Provisional U.A.R Constitution, and the Tangier Conference Resolution on North African unity form useful appendices.

In sum, *Arab Unity* is the only major treatment to date of the subject in English and is a serviceable and welcome contribution to western understanding of the modern Arab world.

◇ **Richard H. Nolte is a student of Middle Eastern affairs and Islamic institutions with extended periods of residence in the area as an American Universities' Field Staff Correspondent. He recently became Director of the Institute of Current World Affairs**

IRAN

Persia and the Defense of India, 1884-1892: A Study in the Foreign Policy of the third Marquess of Salisbury, by Rose Laine Greaves London: University of London Historical Studies, VII, University of London, The Athlone Press, *1959*. x + *226* pages + five appendices of diplomatic documents, index, bibliography and five maps. *42/6*.

Reviewed by Bradford G. Martin

Mrs. Greaves' book on British policy in Persia and its relation to British interests in India is an important study. Within the twelve year period investigated by Mrs Greaves four events took place which had far-reaching consequences: the Russian occupation of Marv (1884); the Panjdeh Crisis (1885); the Drummond Wolff Mission to Persia (1888-1891), and the affair of the Persian Tobacco Monopoly (1891)

Mrs. Greaves' book also touches on the method of formation of policies for Persia in India and at Whitehall. She records the backings and fillings of important civilians and military men serving at the Foreign and India Offices and their constant differences over what was to be done in Persia. Certainly the "Great Game in Asia" was one of the most difficult and exasperating of British diplomatic problems in the 19th century, for over Russia's advance in Asia, Britain was continually on the defensive and at a disadvantage. Here the British fleet, the basis of English power and prestige, was useless, and here British shortcomings as a land power most obvious. The stakes in the Anglo-Russian contest over Central Asia and India seemed high At the beginning of the 80's, when the Russians were pushing their frontier ever closer to Afghanistan and Iran, British strategists in India saw their worst nightmare approaching realization—a Russian invasion from the northwest timed to coincide with a simultaneous rising within India. The "Eastern Question" had indeed shifted Indiawards from Turkey; in this new situation, Afghanistan and Persia became of greater interest and importance to Britain than ever before.

Before he left office in 1880, Lord Salisbury had evolved the main lines of a new policy, instead of bothering with Afghanistan, then in turmoil over the accession of Ya'qūb Khan, he turned to Persia, and tried to transform that country into the keystone of a wall of opposition to the advancing Russians. In support of this new strategy, he wanted to "regenerate" Persia, largely by improving communications within the country and stimulating British interest and investment there. On the return of the Conservatives to office in 1885, he continued his policy.

Fearing a Russian invasion of Khurasan, Salisbury in mid-1885 decided to approach Bismarck, to ascertain whether Anglo-German cooperation might not be a practical means of putting pressure on Russia In this he was seconded by Lord Randolph Churchill Salisbury did his best, but no one of the Bismarcks was much interested, as they felt that any pressure Germany could exert on Russia on behalf of England or Persia would bring her few benefits in return, and might trouble Germany's eastern frontiers.

Salisbury then tried another line; that of agreement or compromise with Russia, in order to bring about a *détente*. In 1887 and 1888 he carried on negotiations with Russia with the aim of extracting a guarantee of the integrity of Persia When hopes of such a compromise flickered out, Salisbury sent Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to Tehran to take a stronger line with Russia and to do his best to create a stable buffer state This phase of Wolff's activities, such as his support of the New Oriental Bank (later the Imperial Bank of Persia) and the Persian Bank Rights Mining Corporation, attracted such attention in Russia that they undermined Salisbury's main efforts. Mrs. Greaves shows, for example, how Wolff provoked the Russians into forcing Nasir ad-Din Shah to sign an agreement halting railway construction, although she makes it clear that the Shah had been so badgered by Russians and Englishmen that he was glad to find this convenient means of shelving an annoying problem.

Mrs. Greaves contributes new information

about Tobacco Monopoly; in this shady episode one Gerald Talbot obtained a concession from the Shah for complete control over the production, sale, and export of Persian tobacco, the uproar over this concession, which occurred during the term of Wolff's ambassadorship, is often regarded as one of the earliest landmarks in the history of Persian nationalism Certainly it was the start of the Persian national debt, as the Shah was forced to borrow £500,000 from the Imperial Bank to buy off Talbot and his associates. Mrs Greaves also brings out some new evidence about the chicaneries of Malkom Khan and his sale of a state lottery concession to the Anglo-Asiatic Syndicate, and contributes information about British backing for Zill as Sultan (Mas'ūd Mīrzā): this support led directly to his fall

Mrs. Greaves has done her research with great care and in much detail She has used unpublished papers from the Ardagh, Granville, Iddesleigh, White and Salisbury papers, as well as correspondence and memoranda by other important contemporaries. The author's use of these sources lends her book genuine authority. The book is smoothly written and the maps are useful Five appendices at the back of the book present some interesting and hitherto unpublished diplomatic correspondence In conclusion, one minor criticism—the book would have been better if Mrs. Greaves had modernized the spelling of place and personal names—Skobelev for Skobeleff, Zill for Zil, Sistan for Seistan, etc.

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PERSIAN GULF

The Persian Gulf States, by Sir Rupert Hay. Washington: Middle East Institute, 1959 154 pages, index to 160. $3 75

Reviewed by William Brewer

The Persian Gulf is much in the news these days, but few commentators, and fewer still among the general public, possess more than superficial information regarding even such well-known shaikhdoms as Kuwait and Bahrein, while general knowledge of the remoter regions of the Gulf is rare. Yet over 65% of the oil needs of Western Europe are now met by Persian Gulf imports, and the Straits of Hormuz at its southern end have become one of the most travelled of the world's shipping lanes

In his recent book, *The Persian Gulf States,* published by the Middle East Institute when English publishers showed little interest, Sir Rupert Hay has sought to fill the gap in public knowledge of the Gulf area by providing an up-to-date description of its littoral states (excluding Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia) for, as he says, "those who may temporarily be residing in or visiting them." Comparisons with the more detailed, original works of Sir Arnold Wilson and other British Arabists of the recent past are thus not in order, for Sir Rupert's slender volume is for the layman rather than the expert Judged on this basis, however, it forms a useful contribution to the growing literature on the Persian Gulf. A wealth of factual information is presented on the ten shaikhdoms of the Gulf proper (Kuwait, Bahrein, Qatar, Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm al-Qaiwain, Ras al-Khaimah and Fujairah) which have special treaty relations with the British Government, together with similar material on the independent Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, which preserves close ties with the UK. In addition, space is devoted to the geography and climate of the region, and sufficient historical data are included to relate present-day events to the Gulf's colorful past The economy of style with which all this material is presented could well serve as a model for more discursive—and more superficial—chroniclers

As a representative of the British Indian Government in the Gulf on and off for forty years, Sir Rupert is eminently qualified and speaks with authority on his subject The evident attraction which this bleak and forbidding area has long held for many dedicated Westerners is clearly reflected in his opening passages Sir Rupert served for eight years as British Political Resident in the Gulf, first at Bushire and subsequently on Bahrein, oversee-

ing the transfer of responsibility for British interests in the area from the Government of India (represented in London by the India office) to the UK Foreign Office. His chapter on the role of the Political Residency is thus of particular interest, as are his all-too-brief remarks regarding the little-known "political agreements" which the UK has concluded with the various oil companies now operating in many of the states

There is, however, little critical analysis of the past British role in the Gulf states or the future of the British position, beyond brief allusions to the presence of limited nationalist sentiment in certain areas "Great Britain continues to exercise her protecting influence," the author concludes, but the extent to which this influence is gradually being circumscribed, at least in the more developed shaikhdoms, is left implicit. Sir Rupert quotes the remark of a former Ruler of Kuwait to the effect that the best Political Agent that Ruler ever had was one who dealt with no Kuwaiti other than himself The day has passed for such a limited, exclusive approach, and the question of how British officials can maintain broad contacts in their respective areas of jurisdiction, without unduly weakening the basic UK tie to the ruling family concerned, must pose an important problem for Sir Rupert's successors.

An introduction by Rear Admiral E. M Eller, USN, a former commander of the US Navy's Middle East Force, provides many interesting highlights of Sir Rupert Hay's career. While the publishers have provided an end-paper outline map of the Gulf area, the book would have been improved by the inclusion of one or more detailed maps to accompany the author's meticulous descriptions.

◇ William Brewer is a Foreign Service Officer who has served in the Arabian Peninsula

PAKISTAN

Political Leadership Among Swat Pathans, by Fredrik Barth. London· University of London Press, 1959. 143 pages. 25s.

Reviewed by Keith Callard

The gap between the anthropologist and the political scientist has often been very wide and those who have attempted to leap from one side to the other have sometimes sustained a serious fall. The political scientist has been more at home dealing with large aggregates—with a complex major state as a whole and with the mass operations of the political process And when he has sought guidance on the place of the individual or primary group in political life, he has looked to the social psychologist rather than the anthropologist When the anthropologist has attempted to draw large political conclusions from, for example, the facts of family life, the political scientist has often remained unimpressed

It is the supreme merit of Dr Barth's short and readable book, that it takes the reader step by step from kinship to kingship, from the family to the reasonable large-scale organization of the princely state of Swat.

Swat, with a population of 550,000, lies in the south-western Himalayas, within Pakistan but close to the Afghan border It is 'tribal' territory, which was never subject to the internal rule of British India or of Pakistan. But it would be quite wrong to think of Swat as an isolated community, by-passed by history, for it lies on the flank of the north-west invasion route of India Successive waves of invaders drove out or subjugated the local population and the general political characteristic of the area has been turbulence; the family of the present ruler did not achieve full authority until 1926 The state has been nominally a part of the province of West Pakistan since 1955 but its internal institutions have remained virtually unchanged

Political power within Swat is in a state of continual flux with each leader trying to extend his authority and prestige. Private war between these leaders has not disappeared and hundreds or thousands of men may be mobilized at moments of crisis to demonstrate their loyalty

There are two main kinds of leader—the chief and the saint The chief's claim to authority depends upon his character, family, land holdings, and alliances with other chiefs There is no hereditary succession to an established fief If a man, as the head of a Pakistan family, wants to be a chief, he is free to use his skill

and power in the attempt to build up a following. A saint, on the other hand, is more likely to attain political authority by his reputation and skill as a peacemaker and diplomat. (The founder of the present ruling dynasty in Swat was a saint). The saint is often the son of a holy man but he may also achieve sainthood by his own piety and devotion to religious ends.

The ordinary villager is presented with a range of choice in his alignments. He is, of course, bound by ties of kinship with his own and his wife's relations. But beyond this he is free to enter into almost contractual links of political dependence and protection. These will have to be adjusted to his arrangements for leasing agricultural land and the house in which he lives. In addition he may also choose to be the follower of a saint. At a moment of crisis he may have to take the crucial decision of whether to get his rifle and, if necessary, fight for the chief to whom he is bound. These ties of dependence and protection are mutually understood but not formally defined and they are subject to change with circumstances. Thus every man has to face a series of vital political decisions during his life and the welfare of himself and his family may depend on making the right estimate of who is going to come out on top.

The Pathan is a fierce individualist and his personal and tribal autonomy depend upon an instant readiness to fight for his cause. The consequence is a fascinating arena of political tensions with every Pakhtun seeing himself as a potential winner. Moral considerations and power relationships both play their part in the unending struggle for dominance.

Dr. Barth has written an admirable monograph which, in the words of his publisher, "should be of interest and value to anthropologists, political scientists, and orientalists alike."

◊ KEITH CALLARD is a professor in the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University, Montreal

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

A KURDISH GRAMMAR, Descriptive Analysis of the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya, Iraq, by Ernest N. McCarus. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. 138 pages. $3.00.

Reviewed by Serge Obolensky

Kurdish is spoken by approximately eight million people living in Turkish and Iranian Kurdistan, in Iraq, Syria, Khorassan (Iran) and in the Soviet Union (mainly in the Armenian and Turkmen Soviet Republics). It can be divided into two groups of dialects: northwestern and southeastern. To the northwestern group belong mainly the dialects spoken in Turkey, the dialect of the Iranian Kurds spoken to the west of Lake Rezaieh and that spoken in Khorassan, the dialects of the Sinjar and Mosul areas in Iraq and those of the Kurds of northern Syria and the Soviet Union. The southeastern group comprises the dialects spoken in central and southwestern Iran (the areas of Sanandaj, Mehabad, Kermanshah, Senjab, etc.) and the greater part of the dialects spoken in north and northeastern Iraq (Ruwandiz, Koy Sanjaq, Sulaimaniya and others). The northwestern Kurds call their dialects 'Kurmanji' while the southeastern dialects are known under the name of 'Kurdi', although the Kurds of Mehabad (Mukri Kurds), Ruwandiz and Sulaimaniya sometimes also refer to their language as 'Kurmanji'. In addition to this division of the Kurdish language into two main groups, hundreds of Kurdish dialects are known under their local names. All the southeastern dialects are mutually intelligible although their vocabulary and phonology vary considerably from area to area. The main distinction between the southeastern and northwestern groups of Kurdish dialects can be roughly summarized as follows: the southeastern dialects do not distinguish gender in the nouns, do not have the complicated inflectional categories of nouns and pronouns and have only one endocentric liaison morpheme, and even that has disappeared in the Senjabi dialect. The passival constructions of clauses so typical to Kurmanji dialects are far less used in Kurdi and the distinction of transitive vs. intransitive verbs is less strictly observed. It is completely lost in the Kermanshah and Senjabi dialects.

The study of Kurdish in the West dates

from the 18th century Since then numerous works on Kurdish (grammars, dictionaries, descriptions of various dialects, textbooks, etc.) have been published, but only a few of them can be considered as valuable Almost all of them have the conservative approach to the description of the language and treat its grammar from the standpoint of their own traditional grammars, often imposing upon it grammatical categories which are alien to the nature of the Kurdish language Even the contemporary Soviet grammars, although very comprehensive and detailed, sometimes suffer from this defect

Ernest McCarus describes in his grammar the Sulaimaniya dialect of the Kurdish language which according to his own words "seems to enjoy the greatest cultural prestige of all the Kurdish dialects of Iraq" His book is divided into five chapters· (1) Introduction, (2) Phonology, (3) Morphology, (4) Word formation, and (5) Syntax. In addition to these chapters there is an appendix consisting of two short stories written in the Kurdish writing system adopted in Iraq (a modified form of the Persian Arabic script)* with the phonemic transcription and English translation, a bibliography and a glossary.

McCarus's Kurdish Grammar is not only an excellent reference grammar of the Sulaimaniya dialect but is at the same time a substantial contribution not only to the study of Kurdish but also to linguistics in general It should be noted however that its use presumes a certain amount of linguistic sophistication His chapter on Phonology shows his ability to handle the most complicated phonological facts and his description of non-linear phonemes (including intonation) is the only such treatment for Kurdish which exists. The chapter on Morphology is well organized, but the reviewer thinks that for practical purposes the subchapter 2 3 on Morphophonemics should be included in the chapter on Morphology (3) The book has a very comprehensive bibliography listing about fifty works on Kurdish, Kurds and their culture, and about the same number of articles published in various scientific journals. It contains relatively few misprints and is generally well presented. In the reviewer's opinion McCarus's Kurdish Grammar is an exemplary linguistic achievement deserving to be followed by the students of Kurdish in their description of other Kurdish dialects

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* The Kurds of Turkey and Iran do not have their own writing system, and those of the Soviet Union use the cyrillic alphabet with some additional symbols

A WORD COUNT OF MODERN ARABIC PROSE, by Jacob M Landau. New York· American Council of Learned Societies, 1959 xx + 453 + 20 + 13 pages No price indicated.

Reviewed by Moshe Perlmann

The author to whom we owe *Parliaments and Parties in Egypt* (1953), and the recent *Studies in Arab Theater and Cinema* (1958) appears here as a pedagogue concerned with the teaching of Arabic as a foreign tongue, in particular with the teaching of the idiom of the press and modern literature. He draws on the limited literature available on the subject as well as on the experience accumulated in Palestine and Israel in teaching Arabic What vocabulary should be offered, taught, inculcated, learned, and in what order, depends, to a great extent, on the findings of word-counts One such count of 136,000 words was conducted by a Jerusalem team under M Brill, and the results were published as *The Basic Word List of the Arabic Daily Newspaper* (1940) The volume under review includes the results of that count, and adds data based on another 136,000 words gleaned from sixty volumes on a variety of subjects, mostly from the area of humanities and social science, as well as two long novels, (all by Egyptian authors listed on pages 9-10 of the Arabic introduction). We thus have the results of two counts an old one of the press usage, and a recent one of literary usage The former showed close to 6,000 separate words, the latter, over 11,000, and the combined list gave 12,400 specific words These are listed alphabetically in Arabic with transliteration and translation, and with indications of numerical frequency in the press and liter-

ature respectively (pp. 1-331). A frequency list follows (pp 333-453); it enumerates the words in order of frequency of occurrence. 375 words each occurred only once in the press, while literary works showed 3341 words which had the frequency of 1 Evidently, teaching should aim at concentrating on the acquisition of words of high frequency, and on eliminating or minimizing the teaching of words of low frequency Five hundred words of high-frequency formed 58 53 per cent of all the words counted. With 1,000 words the student could count on understanding 70 per cent of the material upon which the lists were based Methods of preparation and results of the count are explained in the detailed introduction which is given in Arabic, English and Hebrew (the Hebrew University's School of Education cooperated in the publication of the book).

The author is aware of certain limitations of the statistical approach (e g, in the press, words of current and temporary popularity may show high frequency), as well as of the basis of the sampling The word count is confined to modern prose. And teachers will still have that other basic matter to consider the gulf between the written and the spoken language

Dr Landau has put teachers of Arabic, and especially compilers of aids and manuals, as well as linguists in general, under obligation The execution of the complicated printing deserves high praise.

◇ MOSHE PERLMANN is a member of the faculty of Harvard University

ETHIOPIC AND SOUTH ARABIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HEBREW LEXICON (University of California Publications in Semitic philology, v XX), by Wolf Leslau. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958 76 pages.

Reviewed by Meïr M Bravmann

Professor Leslau's book is not only an important contribution to the lexicography of the Hebrew language, but represents also a valuable preparatory step in the investigation of the interrelationships of the Semitic languages Among the reviews of the book published so far, those by A. Jeffery *(Language,* v 35 (1959) p. 97-99 and A. F. L Beeston *(Orientalia,* v 28 (1959) p 106-108) are especially meritorious in their clear analysis of the principles which guided our author in the selection and arrangement of his material A F L. Beeston has also drawn attention to some parallels which the book fails to mention. We refer the reader to these excellent critiques. We would like to point out here additionally some incongruencies which occasionally appear in the comparison of basic forms of words and their meanings, and to illustrate them with a few examples

In comparing roots common to both contrasted languages, it is advisable to indicate the basic meaning of the root from which its diverging meanings in both languages can be derived On page 11, the meaning of the Hebrew root *'mn* is stated as being "prove faithful"—a meaning, which, strictly speaking, applies only to the *nif'al* (this fact is not mentioned in the statement—and the root is compared with Ethiopic *amnä* "believe." It would have been more correct to state, as the basic meaning of *'mn,* "to be firm, to be reliable", which agrees well with the meaning of the Arabic verb *amina,* "to be secure," or "to feel secure," this form of the root, *amina,* is the basic form of Ethiopic *amnä* In comparing roots, their original forms should always be stated On page 20, the Hebrew *ḥēk,* "palate, organ of taste," is compared with Ge'ez *ḥēkä* "to chew" Without going here into the merits of the parallel proposed here, it should have been pointed out at the outset that *ḥēk* (with possessive suffixes *ḥikkī,* etc) originates from a triliteral basic form* *ḥink* (cf Aramaic *ḥinkā,* besides *ḥikkā,* Arabic *ḥanak*), the Ethiopic word should have been compared with this root (Jefferey's remark, *loc. cit*, p 98, line 34-35, must be corrected accordingly) In a study like this, only primary, direct relationships should be considered. On page 50, s v. *rḥm,* "to love, have compassion," the author—unjustifiably—remarks that Koehler, in his Hebrew dictionary, should have mentioned the Tigrē-word (originally Arabic) *rāḥama* as an Ethiopic relative of the Hebrew root because

the word seemed to be "naturalized" in Ethiopic. This distinction between merely "borrowed" and "naturalized" is, if at all tenable, in any case irrelevant for the case in question here In discussing rarer, not clearly incontestable etymological derivations, all important parallels established by research in all related languages should be mentioned, if some difficult change of meaning is postulated, it should be substantiated On page 11, the assumption is mentioned—with the author's implied approval—that the basic meaning of the Hebrew verb *'mr*, "to say," is "to be bright, visible, to know" (Its Arabic counterpart *'mr*, "to command," should also have been mentioned) This semantic development does not seem plausible at first sight and would have required some further explanation Ge'ez *ammārā* "show," *əm(m)ūr* "clear, well known," Tigrē *amāra* "know" and Akkadian *amāru* "see" are adduced as proof for the latter meanings But Arabic *ammala* and *ta'ammala* "to look at" and *amārat-* "sign" should have been added for clarity and completeness On page 55, a non-existent Syriac root *š°'ar* "to split" is mentioned as the Aramaic counterpart of the root *ṯgr* which represents the basis of Hebrew *sa šar* "gate" (Arabic *ṯagr, ṯugrat-*) The root which should have been mentioned, is *t°ra'* (*tar'ā* "gate")

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SHORTER NOTICES

CUENTOS POPULARES MARROQUÍES, by Muhammad Ibn Azzuz Haquim. (Instituto de Estudios Africanos) Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1955 110 plus [5] pages. 25 ptas.

Fifty-nine animal tales collected in Yebala and Gumara 1946-50, given in Spanish translation with brief, but valuable material on the role of folktales in Morocco and the use of introductory formulas. The place of elicitation and the narrator (name and age) are identified for each story. An appendix provides a list of the colloquial Arabic names of the animals of the stories. The linguist will regret the lack of the Arabic text, but the folklorist will be grateful for this excellent small collection of contemporary folklore.

DICCIONARIO DE SUPERSTICIONES Y MITOS MARROQUÍES, by Muhammed Ibn Azzuz Akím. (Instituto de Estudios Africanos) Madrid· Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958. 61 pages. 50 ptas

A heterogenous collection of popular beliefs, myths, bits of folk medicine, charms, and the like alphabetized by key words. The material was collected in 1950-55, chiefly in northern Morocco. A list of the Arabic originals of the Spanish key words is appended

FOLKLORE INFANTIL DE GUMARA EL HAILA, by Muhammad Ibn Azzuz Hakim. (Instituto de Estudios Africanos) Madrid· Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1959. 98 pages. 50 ptas.

A collection of children's games and children's rhymes current in Gumara el Haila Unvowelled Arabic text of all the rhymes, including those connected with the games, is given This is an excellent little work, which fills a gap in Arabic folklore studies.

◇ CHARLES A. FERGUSON, Washington, D. C.

CATALOGING OF PERSIAN WORKS, by Nasser Sharify. Chicago: American Library Association, 1959. xvi + 161 pages $3 50.

On the face of it, this book is for librarians only. Actually by his plan, Dr. Sharify has tried to deal with the basic problems in one field of the librarian's work in such a way that the non-professional and the amateur in the field will get accurate guidance. He has compressed into comparatively brief compass the results of several years intensive work on the general idea of how Persian language books and materials can be cataloged in the most useful way. The scope of the work is shown in the subtitle "including rules for transliteration, entry and description." To carry out this purpose the author clears the ground and describes the problem to be solved in Chapter I Introduction. Then in two chapters, he deals with the basic question of a transliteration system

for Persian, sketching the background and proposing a table for library use. After a general analysis of existing codes. Dr. Sharify deals with Iranian personal names, and rules of entry. Then follows a sketch of background considerations for descriptive cataloging. Rules for description close the body of the book after which there is an appendix on aids to the establishment of entries. A bibliography and table of abbreviations close the book.

The chief value of this book is that it assembles in brief so much material on what has become a controversial question. The author presents a documented and convincing argument for cataloging Persian language material as Persian and not as Arabic. One may differ with his way of presenting his material but the basic facts are there for all who need help on this problem In the face of a tendency to seek over simplification or to ignore the issue, Dr. Sharify surveys his ground and offers a method of precedure based not so much on theory but on experience gained by actually preparing Persian publications for use by readers.

◇ ROBERT F. OGDEN, Washington, D C

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN PAKISTAN, by Mushtaq Ahmad. Karachi· Pakistan Publishing House, 1959. 235 pages, appendix and index to 265. Rs 10/12/-.

Like education, government in its actual working is a unique matter for every nation This book, while it offers an excellent survey of the various traumas afflicting government in Pakistan from independence to the present day, has the additional virtue of indicating something of the ideal of government towards which many Pakistani feel they are working Written by an academician turned journalist, it reflects the approach of an academician far more than that of the administrator faced with on-the-spot decisions concerning thorny governmental problems There is a certain element of naivete, for instance in treating the 1953 disturbances in the Punjab as an essentially political problem, unless that word "political" is used in the broadest possible sense. For those interested in comparative government, or in the development of responsible government in underdeveloped areas, Mushtaq Ahmad's book should prove of value as a kind of antidote to western writers on this subject.

Most of the volume was written before the revolution of October 27, 1958, but a chapter has been added summarizing the accomplishments and hoped-for accomplishments of the new regime. There is also an appendix containing excerpts from the speeches and statements of General Muhammad Ayub Khan.

On the whole, one is struck by the objectivity the author maintains. The book has fewer typographical errors than one might expect to find, and while the frequent omission of adjectival articles may be disconcerting, it does serve to remind the reader that Urdu is not very far from the mind of the author.

◇ FREELAND ABBOTT, Tufts University

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Arab Dawn, by R. K. Karanjia London Lawrence & Wishart, 1959 191 pages 15s This book explains the background of the events leading to the rise and rapid progress of Arab Nationalism from the point of view of an Indian journalist and editor of the Indian news-magazine *Blitz* who is an "ardent sympathizer" of the Arab cause.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer

With contributions from: Ernest Dawn, Richard Ettinghausen, Sidney Glazer, John A. Lazo, Louis A Leopold, Bernard Lewis, M Perlmann, C. Rabin, W. Sands

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Muslim Spain, the Arab World, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of the Soviet Union, Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. An attempt is made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields The ancient Near East and Byzantium are excluded, so also Zionism, Palestine, and Israel in view of the current, cumulative bibliography on this field. *Palestine and Zionism,* a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library, New York.

It would be appreciated if authors of articles appropriate to the Bibliography would send reprints or notices of such articles to Bibliography Editor, The Middle East Journal, 1761 N Street, N W, Washington 6, D C.

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12041 DENY, JEAN "La gouttière d'or *(mīzāb)* de la Kaaba et le Sultan ottoman Ahmed I^er^." *Welt des Islams* 6, no 1-2 (1959) 1-12 The rain water caught in this golden gutter is regarded as having curative properties

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12145 *The development of manufacturing industry in Egypt, Israel, and Turkey.* **Internat. Aff.** 35 (O '59) 469-70 This U N survey covers the period from the pre-war years to 1956, **Muslim World** 49 (O '49) 334 (Daniel Lerner) "A serious and successful effort to establish statistical comparability on indices of industrialization among Middle Eastern countries"

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ABBREVIATIONS

A., Asian, Asiatic, asiatique
Acad, Academy
Afr., African, Afrique, etc.
fr, frican, Afrique, etc
Amer, American
Archeol, Archaeological, archéologique
B, Bulletin
C., Central
Cent, Century
Contemp, Contemporary, etc
Cult, Culture
D., Deutsch
Dept, Department
East, Eastern
Econ, Economic, économique
For, Foreign
G, Gesellschaft
Geog, Geographical, géographique, etc
Gt Brit., Great Britain
Hist, Historical, historique, etc
Illust, Illustrated
Inst, Institute
Internat, International
J, Journal
L, Literature, etc
M, Morgenlandisch, etc
Mag, Magazine
Mid, Middle
Mod, Modern, moderno, etc
Mus, Museum, musée
Natl, National
Nr, Near
Numis, Numismatic, numismatique
O, Oriental, oriente, etc
Pal, Palestine
Phil, Philosophical
Philol, Philological, Philologique
Polit, Political, Politique
Proceed, Proceedings
Quart, Quarterly
R, Royal
Res, Research
Rev, Review, revue
Riv, Rivista
S, School
Soc, Society, société
Stud, Studies
Trans, Transactions
U S, United States
USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Univ, University, université
Z, Zeitschrift, Zeitung

Arabic

K, Kitab, etc
Maj, Majallah, etc

Russian, Polish, etc.

Akad., Akademii
Fil, Filosofi
Inst, Institut
Ist, Istorii
Izvest, Izvestia
Lit., Literaturi
Orient, Orientalni
Ser, Seriya
Sov, Sovetskoye
Uchon, Uchoniye
Vostok, Vostokovedenia
Yaz, Yazika
Zap, Zapiski

Turkish

Fak, Fakulte
Univ, Üniversite

Readers' Commentary

The Journal *welcomes comment from its readers. All communications should be addressed to the Editor and bear the full name and address of the writer. A selection of those received will be published periodically in this column, preference being given to those which correct errors of fact, offer constructive criticism of an opinion expressed, or provide additional information on a topic discussed in the* Journal's *pages.*

Dear Sir:

In reply to Mr. David Finnie (Autumn 1959):

If an American employee of an American company operating in the United States were to discover that his employers were, say, fiddling their income tax, would he in Mr. Finnie's view have a patriotic duty to report it or not? Or, to look at it from the other end, does Mr. Finne really believe that a business concern is justified in withholding information the government is entitled to have, if it thinks it can get away with it?

The trouble of course is that all too many international concerns do think this way, one very good reason for the reluctance of the new nations in the Middle East and elsewhere to continue dealing with them. If such firms find it hard to accept that the interests of their "superior landlords" must be paramount, it would indeed be better if they withdrew.

Two final points. I certainly don't claim any credit for "originating" or even "stumbling on" the idea that the APOC moved too slowly in advancing its Persian employees; the fact—and the reasons for it—were duly noted by the Persian government many years ago. I certainly do consider it "naive" to quote without explanation a passage from someone else's book as though it were supporting the very thesis it was in fact attacking.

L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON
5, Merchiston Gardens
Edinburgh 10, Scotland

Dear Sir:

Since tribal formations and allegiances have been rightly stressed by Mr. Ashford in his interesting article on "Politics and Violence in Morocco," [*MEJ*, Winter, 1959] it would be a pity to leave an error he made uncorrected.

The "officer of the Royal Army" who became governor of Taza province is not a Riffian. Though certainly a Berber, Governor Bel Ayashi comes from an old family in Midelt, between the Middle Atlas and the Tefilalet. Incidentally, his name is identical with that of the mountain dominating his birth place.

ROM LANDAU
Professor of Islamic & North African Studies
College of the Pacific
Stockton 4, California

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF

THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL published quarterly at Washington, D. C. for Autumn, 1959.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are· Publisher: The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C. Editor: William Sands, Washington, D C. Business Manager: Mildred Bartholomew, Washington 6, D C.

2. The owner is· The Middle East Institute, Washington 6, D. C. (no stockholders)

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

WILLIAM SANDS

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of September, 1959.

[SEAL] N. E. BADEN, Notary

(My commission expires March 31, 1964.)

THE

MIDDLE EAST Journal

VOLUME 14 SPRING 1960 NUMBER 2

THE ECONOMICS OF THE SUEZ CANAL UNDER UAR MANAGEMENT

Ragaei El Mallakh and Carl McGuire

ON December 22, 1959 the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in participation with nine major American and other private banks, advanced a loan of $56.5 million to the Suez Canal Authority of the United Arab Republic to finance a program of development of the Canal. This action reflects the judgment that the Canal will continue to grow in economic importance and it is an acknowledgment that the Egyptians have demonstrated the ability to administer this most vital manmade waterway in the world.

The loan by the IBRD draws attention to the economic and administrative aspects of the nationalized enterprise. The transfer of Suez Canal administration from the *Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez* to the Egyptian government on the evening of July 26, 1956 was the focal center of world interest at the time. However, immediate reaction was largely concerned with the political, legal and strategic implications of the changeover.[1] This

1 For example American Society of International Law, *International Law and the Middle East Crisis*, New Orleans: Tulane University, 1957, William F Longgood, *Suez Story, Key to the Middle East*, New York Greenberg, 1957, and The Society of Comparative Legislation and International Law, *The Suez Canal*, London, 1956

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study proposes to discuss the economics of nationalization, investigating the economic motives for that action, and appraising the efficiency with which the Canal has been operated under Egyptian management. Reference will also be made to the problem of compensation of the displaced owners and to the present status of Suez Canal development.

Economic Motives for Nationalization

The need for funds to finance the development of the Egyptian economy *was the basic economic reason for the nationalization of the Canal. An examination* of the historical contribution of the Suez Canal Company to the economic development of the land of the Nile shows that the country received no share whatsoever of the substantial profits of the company from 1880 to 1936.[2] It was not until August 1937 that an agreement was reached between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian government providing that Egypt would receive LE 0.3 million per year. In March 1949 this agreement was modified, the Egyptian share of the gross profit being set at seven percent. In addition the Company paid taxes to the Egyptian government in the amount of some LE 3 million, bringing the total contribution to the Egyptian government in 1951, for example, to about 4 million pounds, only about two percent of the total receipts of the Egyptian budget that year.[3]

That the Egyptians should feel that their share in the Suez earnings had been something less than adequate becomes easily understandable in the light of the facts of economic geography and the investment history of the Canal. The Suez waterway is not only a major economic resource that permanently utilizes Egyptian territory; it was financed in large part by Egypt. The Egyptian government, under Ottoman domination, granted without charge the necessary lands for the building of the Canal and its auxiliaries. Egypt subscribed to more than half of the original construction costs, putting up a sum estimated at over LE 16 million; in return the Egyptians were to receive a modest 15 percent of the net profits of the enterprise and profits on shares. In 1874 the Khedive Isma'il's financial difficulties robbed the country of even these anticipated earnings. To settle his debts the Khedive hastily sold the Egyptian shares in the Company (44 percent of the total) to the British government at an extremely low price. The Anglo-French dual control of the Canal in 1880 ceded the 15 percent Egyptian share in the Suez profits to a French concern, the *Credit Foncier,* in settlement of a debt of LE 880,000. This company retrieved its investment in seven years and continued thereafter to receive approximately LE 0.5 million a year. Thus from 1880 to 1936 the government of Egypt "did

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2. Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez, *The Suez Canal, Notes and Statistics,* London, 1952, p. 68, and John Marlow, *Anglo-Egyptian Relations,* London, 1954, p. 84.

3. Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez, *Ibid.*

not receive a single piaster for the use of its territory or in return for its investment in the Canal."[4]

Indirect contribution of the Canal to the Egyptian economy existed, of course, before nationalization, chiefly in the form of the tolls which credited the Egyptian balance of payments. Some employment was also created although there were Egyptian contentions that training measures were deliberately designed to restrict the access of Egyptians to piloting and to senior posts in the Company. The benefit accruing to the economy through the tolls was sharply reduced by the fact that more than half of the Canal's revenue was used for Company remittances in the form of profits and other payments and thus Egypt was receiving from the Canal only LE 10-12 million of foreign exchange.[5]

The exchange loss to the Company was related to its financial and investment policies. The Company concentrated efforts upon enhancing the financial prosperity of its shareholders by acting as an investment firm, placing its profits and amortization payments in European, French Saharan and even American industrial, financial and commercial firms, rather than plowing them back into Egyptian enterprise. In the year before nationalization the Company was approached by the Egyptian government with proposals to enlarge its local investments. The Company's initial reactions were "reported unfavorable to anything more than a token transaction"[6] but agreement was finally reached in June 1956 for hard-currency investment in Egypt to amount to LE 21.5 million by 1964. Whether any investment funds were actually transferred to Egypt before nationalization is doubtful.

Egyptian dissatisfaction with Company policies related also to its managerial performance. The Company was criticized on the grounds that it was providing inadequate service and that it was failing to carry out major programs of improvement vital to the future of the waterway. The Egyptian anxiety over the lack of sufficient capital improvement was intensified by the need for widening and deepening the Canal to meet the growing volume of petroleum shipment and the worldwide construction of supertankers of deep draught. This fear was shared by the large oil companies of the Middle East.[7] One author expressed the view that

> . . . before Egyptianization of the Canal in July, 1956, it was becoming apparent that the rate of increase in the demand for oil by Western Europe was distinctly overtaking the rate of improvement and expansion of the navigable channel of the Canal.[8]

Nevertheless, the Company persisted in building up its non-Egyptian non-

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4. John Badeau, "What Suez Means to Egypt," *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, Nov. 1, 1956, p. 26.
5. *Economist*, September 22, 1956, p 970.
6. p. 26 (Badeau).
7. "The Cost of Suez. Economic Background of the Canal Dispute," *Round Table*, December, 1956, p. 11.
8. Alan B. Mountjoy, "The Suez Canal at Mid-Century," *Economic Geography*, April, 1958, p. 161.

Canal types of investments, putting only LE 20.5 million ($57,400,000) into Canal improvements during the entire 78 year period of its ownership, an average of LE 260,000 per year, or 4.1 percent of the average yearly revenue of the Canal.[9] The Company also used its excess earnings to repurchase its ordinary capital shares, giving the stockholders new certificates of beneficial interest; in addition it returned to them the par value of its shares. In this manner more than half of the 800,000 split shares were bought back In 1955 the last pre-nationalization balance sheet of the Company disclosed that out of total assets of about $240,000,000, its holdings outside of Egypt in cash, securities and real estate amounted (in terms of cost rather than market value) to roughly $131,000,000. In other words, more than half of its interests were outside of Egypt.

Why did the Company fail to meet Egyptian expectations of performance? There were, no doubt, two factors responsible. First, the Company was an absentee-owned enterprise with its principal administrative headquarters in Paris The board of directors, with its preponderance of French directorial personnel, was not an instrument designed to reflect the interests of the Egyptian economy. Secondly, aware that the 99 year concession, agreed upon in 1856 at the time of the founding of the Company to become effective on the completion of the construction of the Canal, would end in 1968, the Company did not have interest in the long-run welfare of the Egyptian economy Its policies were pointedly directed in anticipation of the expiration of the concession. John Badeau reports that Egyptian efforts to secure major Canal improvements were rebuffed with this answer in substance:

> We will continue to improve the Canal for present and immediate future traffic, but we are not prepared to make a heavy investment out of profits in a major reconstruction program in view of the fact that the Canal would become the national property of Egypt within twelve years.[10]

Criticism of the old administration of the Canal and its lack of adaptability to changing needs was not restricted to the Egyptian government A British scholar, Sir Arnold T. Wilson, in his book, *The Suez Canal,* stated as early as 1933:

> The legal position and system of administration of the Canal has existed unaltered since 1854. it is no longer suited to the needs of the world It is an anachronism Unchanging political or commercial organizations are no more possible than unchanging species What is living is subject to change, what is stationary has lost the power of adaptation and in a changing world must die, and in the process affect many other interests.[11]

9. Suez Canal Authority, *Annual Bulletin, 1957,* 1958, p 37

10. Badeau, *Ibid.,* p 26. The Company issuance on April 2, 1957, many months after nationalization, of a 250 page study presenting a detailed expansion program to cost $287 million in order to triple canal capacity by 1972 seems to have been a maneuver to strengthen its case for compensation. "Suez Aftermath," *Foreign Policy Bulletin,* April 2, 1957, p. 124

11. Sir Arnold T Wilson, *The Suez Canal, Its Past, Present and Future,* London Oxford University Press, 1933, p. 172

The Suez Canal under Egyptian Management

INITIAL APPREHENSIONS OF SHIPPERS

Immediately following nationalization many doubts were expressed concerning the capability of the Egyptians to maintain and operate the Canal. Dire predictions were made that its value as a key shipping short-cut would disappear. It was widely felt that inadequate maintenance and supervision would bring immediate threats to sound navigation, to safety of passage, to quality of service. In the long run the investment goals of Egypt would cause the diversion of tolls from necessary Canal improvement. The department in the Egyptian Ministry of Commerce that was set up to be ready for the changeover in 1968 was viewed as hopelessly understaffed. Efficiency would decline steadily Furthermore, Egypt would "levy blackmail" on users by increasing rates to exorbitant monopolistic levels

Tangible evidence of the genuine character of these fears of the maritime nations can be seen in the upward movement of shipping and marine insurance rates that occurred at the time. Even the price of canal-carried commodities went up. Suez-bound ships sailed with full bunkers and surplus stores.

DIFFICULTIES FACING THE SUEZ AUTHORITY

Certainly the new management, the Suez Canal Authority, faced a multitude of problems. Not only were there the usual difficulties attendant upon the transfer of control of any large enterprise from one set of hands to another —nothing to be minimized; there were extraordinary hurdles introduced into the situation by the actions of the Suez Canal Company and of the governments of several of the Western powers. Seldom has an enterprise been faced from the very moment of birth with so many complex problems.

Within a matter of hours after nationalization the government of the United Kingdom had retaliated by freezing all assets held in that country by the Egyptian government, Egyptian individuals and firms, and by the Suez Canal Company. All Egyptian funds in France were blocked. So were the accounts of the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian government in the United States (but not privately held Egyptian funds), although these accounts were small in comparison with the magnitude of the sterling balances. Thus blocking placed obstacles in the way of acquisition of the foreign exchange needed to finance the international aspects of the operation of the Canal. Western foreign aid programs to Egypt were curtailed or eliminated

The Suez Canal Company responded to nationalization by the issuance of warnings to shippers not to use the Canal since the Company could not consider itself liable for the maintenance of operation and in any case not to of other nations, by government order, did in fact continue to pay their tolls

pay tolls to Egypt's new Suez Canal Authority. British, French and some ships (some 60 percent of the total) to the old Company. Yet Egypt gave the vessels passage. American ships paid their dues to the Egyptian authority under legal protest. Pressure on the new Canal administration was maintained through constant threats of boycott[12] and discussion of alternate routes to Suez such as desert pipelines and the construction of supertankers and supercargoliners to travel round the Cape. The cutting of a new Middle East canal was even suggested. A few large passenger and cargo vessels were actually rerouted around Africa.

In order to make boycott effective, if used, and also in order to be prepared for the expected eventual breakdown of the Canal under Egyptian management, seventeen nations controlling 95 percent of the shipping that transits Suez agreed on the organization of a body to be called the Suez Canal Users Association. It was planned that this agency would provide pilots, regulate Canal traffic and collect tolls, giving Egypt a "reasonable" share of profits

The most serious difficulty confronting the new management was the acute shortage of trained pilots. The pilot crisis was contrived a few weeks after nationalization when it became apparent that the waterway was being well operated by the Egyptians. Instructions were issued by the old Company demanding that all pilots quit their jobs The Company offered attractive inducements to those pilots on leave from their jobs not to return: three years' salary and a sizeable retirement pension. Those keeping their positions with the Suez Canal Authority were threatened with loss of leave and retirement rights. Most pilots, the exceptions being the Egyptians and the Greeks, left their jobs.[13] The number remaining totaled 57 out of 205.[14] Considering the fact that pilotage is the key to smooth traffic handling, that there is a worldwide shortage of pilots (inelastic supply), and that the Suez Canal is one of the world's trickiest waterways to navigate, one can appreciate the difficulties confronting the Suez Canal Authority. The customary two-year period required to train pilots further intensified these difficulties.

The Egyptian management met this problem with two lines of action. The first was a worldwide recruitment drive; the second was the adoption of a rigorous pilot-training program. A time-saving innovation in pilot training involved a break from the old Company system of training the pilot to take a ship halfway through the Canal and at Ismailia take another ship back to the terminal base. The new method of teaching each pilot only one section

12. In August the White House gave instructions to the Office of Defense Mobilization and other federal agencies to cooperate in the organization of the Middle East Emergency Committee which was to coordinate the efforts of fourteen large United States oil companies in pooling oil resources and transportation facilities. The serious nature of this measure, popularly called the Suez Sea Lift, can be seen in the fact that the oil companies were, for this purpose, given immunity from prosecution under antitrust laws.

13. At first the Egyptian government ordered the pilots to stay on their jobs, but later allowed them to resign with one month's notice or even less.

14. The Suez Canal Authority, *Suez Canal Report, 1958*, 1959, p 26.

of the Canal in one direction proved to be successful. Recruitment, too, met with success, despite French and British refusal to publish Egyptian advertisements in some of their newspapers.[15] In less than two months the Suez Canal Authority had a new corps of pilots composed of 80 Egyptians and 130 foreigners.

The new management also met great political and diplomatic pressure. Some British and French circles even had hopes that the United States might disrupt Egypt's cotton market by dumping surplus American cotton abroad. Military "shows of force" such as the highly publicized deployment of armed forces in the Eastern Mediterranean occurred. Over a thousand British civilian nationals were pointedly evacuated from Egypt. Yet the Canal remained in effective operation.

A means to effect closure of the Canal was, however, finally employed. The Suez invasion in October 1956 was one of the most tragic events the world has witnessed since World War II. There is no need here to dwell on historic records. The misadventure was a short-lived one. The United Nations forced the aggressors to evacuate all Egyptian territory, including the Suez Canal zone[16] As a result of the war, the Suez Canal Authority's operations were halted; bombed and sunken ships choked virtually all passage through the Canal. Clearing operations to remove the damaged and obstructive ships were entrusted to a team of United Nations and Egyptian salvage crews, under the able directorship of United States engineer, Lieutenant General Raymond A. Wheeler. The salvage fleet, numbering more than twenty vessels, began clearing major obstructions from the center of the channel to allow limited traffic. This was followed by the difficult task of dredging the canal of tons of silt which had collected in the two months after the invasion. The task was made more arduous by the shortage of dredges; seven of a total of eleven Suez Canal dredges were destroyed during the invasion. Moreover, twelve out of fourteen salvage and harbor tugs for the servicing of transit convoys as well as a workshop tug were sunk. At first, the hiring of tugs from outside sources was considered, but quick restoration of the Suez Canal workshops enabled the Authority to repair the needed tugs as soon as they were refloated.

The clearing operation was financed by loans totaling some $11.2 million from eleven members of the United Nations, the United States assuming the largest share, namely $5 million. It was finally agreed that these loans would be repaid by a three percent non-mandatory surcharge on Canal dues. In practice most of the clearance payments have been absorbed by the governments of the shipowners involved.

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15. *New York Times*, August 28, 1956, p 3 and August 31, 1956, p. 3.

16 The Egyptian Society of International Law, *Egypt and the United Nations*, New York. Manhattan Publishing Company, 1957, pp. 66-67.

SUCCESSFUL OPERATION UNDER EGYPTIAN ADMINISTRATION

Within a few weeks, or even days after nationalization it became apparent that the new management could cope with its task. World market expressions of judgment of the Canal operation included the gradual return to normal of shipping and marine insurance rates, and the drop of the prices of canal-borne commodities toward their pre-Suez level. Successively the pilot crisis and the invasion blockage were successfully surmounted. Good operation of the Canal came to be taken for granted. A quotation from the London *Economist* expresses the prevailing opinion today:

> Gloomy, and at times, malicious, prognostications about Egypt's inability to run the Canal on its own have proved to be off the mark A sign of general confidence in the Egyptian canal authority and its head, Mr. Mahmoud Younis, is the negotiation now going on about a World Bank Loan for widening the canal.[17]

Even certain officials in the old Suez Canal Company have conceded "that their dire predictions that the Canal would founder under Egyptian control have not come true." [18]

Measures of the degree of success of the Suez Canal Authority are numerous.[19] Safety of navigation has been maintained despite the great increase in traffic which has been accommodated In 1958, the first full year of normal operation after the invasion-caused interruption of navigation late in 1956 and early in 1957, 17,842 ships with an overall tonnage of about 154,000,000 tons passed through the Canal. Corresponding figures for 1955, the last full year before nationalization, were 14,666 ships with an overall net tonnage of 116 million tons, increases of 21.7 percent in the number of ships and 33.5 percent in net tonnage in the short space of three years. Table 1 permits a comparison of the quarterly traffic patterns of the two years, 1955 and 1958. The same trend continued during 1959. The most recent available figures, those for January to March 1959, attest to a continued rise: 4,427 ships of 40.5 million net tonnage as against 4,288 ships of 36.6 million tons during the corresponding period of 1958.

The daily average of transits also rose from 40.2 in 1955 to 43 6 in the active period of 1956, to 46.6 during the second half of 1957, and 48.9 in 1958, reaching 49 2 ships during the first quarter of 1959.

Traffic in Middle East oil has shown a steady growth. The proportion of tanker net tonnage to total transiting net tonnage increased from 65.5 percent in 1955 to 69.7 percent in 1958. At the same time the progressive increase

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17. June 13, 1959, p. 1006

18. *New York Times*, October 18, 1959, p. 10.

19. In the following paragraphs tonnage data for the period prior to 1959 are taken from Suez Canal Authority, *Suez Canal Report 1958*, 1959, pp. 75 and 76. Figures for 1959 are given in National Bank of Egypt, *Economic Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1959, p. 35.

in the size of the tankers was reflected in the fact that the proportion of the number of tankers to the total number of transiting ships in 1955 and 1958 remained stable at about 53.7 percent. This trend towards increased use of supertankers explains the continual concern on the part of the Suez Canal Authority about widening and deepening the waterway.

TABLE 1
Suez Canal Net Tonnage
(THOUSAND TONS)

	1958	1955	Difference	Percentage
1st Quarter	36,619	28,638	7,981	27.9
2nd Quarter	37,076	28,879	8,197	28.4
3rd Quarter	38,747	28,602	10,145	35.5
4th Quarter	42,037	29,637	12,400	41.8
Total	154,479	115,756	38,723	33 5

Source· Suez Canal Authority, *Suez Canal Report 1958*, 1959, p. 75

Canal rates have not been increased by the Egyptian Authority, aside from the temporary surcharge levied by UN agreement to pay the expenses of clearance. Furthermore, Egypt pledged in its Declaration on the Operation of the Suez Canal, a document "registered" as an "international instrument" with the United Nations that it would not in any one year raise rates by more than one percent.[20] Stable transit charges have been accompanied by improved service. Transit appears to have become more punctual than under the old Company and there are many reports that the Egyptian employees of the Suez Canal Authority are consistently helpful and courteous.[21]

Increased usage of the Canal has led to a corresponding increase in the receipts from Canal tolls. Total revenues were LE 32 million in 1955, LE 29.4 million in 1956, LE 24.5 million in 1957 (1956 and 1957 were years of partial operation due to the Suez War interruption), and LE 42.1 million in 1958, a record high. Available figures for the first quarter of 1959 show an increase of ten percent over the corresponding period of 1958.[22] Furthermore, all Canal dues received since nationalization are free foreign exchange at the discretionary disposal of the Egyptian government, profits, amortization and similar

20. Document, "Egyptian Declaration on the Operation of the Suez Canal," *The Middle East Journal*, Spring, 1957, p 196.

21. For example "Ten hours! In the thirty years I've been going through the Canal, this is the fastest transit The last trip took eighteen hours, and the French pilot had so much wine that we had to keep him awake with coffee" An Italian captain quoted in *Time*, October 1, 1956, p. 27. "The thing you hear from most shipping people," says one United States observer in Cairo, "is the old company was consistently arrogant, the Egyptians consistently courteous and helpful." *Time*, October 27, 1958, p 25.

22. National Bank of Egypt, *Economic Bulletin*, Vol XII, No 1, 1959, p 35.

payments to foreign stockholders being no longer necessary (compensation for the next several years aside). There are some necessary expenses payable in foreign money that are attributable to the Canal, of course, but these appear to be rather small. The importance of the Canal as a source of foreign exchange is suggested in the United Nations report on Middle Eastern economic affairs for 1956-57 in which it is said that the Suez exchange receipts "will probably more than compensate for" the depletion of the World War II sterling balances which have been the postwar mainstay for financing the trade deficit and economic development program of Egypt.[23]

The efficiency of the Suez Canal Authority in managing the increased flow of traffic and the increased capital expenditure programs can be measured in part by a comparison of the number of Canal employees before and after nationalization. The new administration has reported that as of December 31, 1958 it was employing 1,097 persons, a figure that may be compared with the 1,010 administrative employees working in Egypt alone just prior to the change from Company to Egyptian control of the waterway. In addition the old Company had 172 employees in Paris and other agencies abroad, excluding those of a rank lower than chief clerk because they could not be numbered.[24] By way of contrast the central purchasing office maintained in Zurich by the Suez Canal Authority for its European business has a staff consisting of three Egyptian engineers. It is perhaps instructive, too, that the present board of directors has nine members in contrast to the elaborate thirty-two man board of the Suez Canal Company, of whom sixteen were French, nine English, five Egyptian, one Dutch and one American. A comparison of the number of administrative employees prior to nationalization and at the end of 1958, cross-tabulated by nationality, is given in Table 2. A breakdown of 1958 employment by type of position is presented in Table 3.

Programs for the betterment of canal facilities were adopted by the Egyptianized Company from the beginning. At the present time the Suez Canal Authority is spending on capital development a yearly average of some LE 10 million, 25 percent of the yearly Canal revenue as pledged in the Egyptian Declaration on the Operation of the Canal of March 1957. Granted the change in the value of the pound over the years, this may still be compared to the average LE 260,000 capital investment per annum for the period from 1876 to 1954, 4.1 percent of the average yearly revenue of the Canal, as referred to earlier in this paper. During this seventy-eight year period LE 20.5 million (out of a total Canal revenue of LE 498 million) was spent on seven improvement programs. In 1954 the old Company prepared a plan of improvement known as the eighth program which involved an increase in the

23. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Economic Developments in the Middle East 1956-1957*, New York: 1958, p. 18.

24. Suez Canal Authority, *Suez Canal Report 1958*, 1959, p. 26, and *New York Times*, October 16, 1959, p. 10.

cross-sectional area of the Canal from 1250 m2 to 1500 m2 and an increase in depth of the Canal to allow the transit of vessels drawing 36 feet or about 38,000 tons gross. After an assessment of the eighth program, the Suez Canal Authority concluded that it was inadequate in its original form to meet the requirements of the growing traffic and the enlarged dimensions of tankers. Accordingly, the Authority modified the eighth plan to permit the transit of

TABLE 2

Number of Suez Canal Employees Before and After Nationalization, by Nationality

	Employees Excluding Pilots		Pilots	
Nationality	Before 7/26/56	At 12/31/58	Before 7/26/56	At 12/31/58
Arabs	426	843	40	99
Greeks	62	35	12	27
Germans	—	—	—	21
Russians	1	—	—	15
Poles	—	—	1	12
Yugoslavs	11	2	1	12
Italians	9	—	2	8
Americans	—	—	2	5
Norwegians	—	—	11	5
Spanish	—	—	1	3
Swedish	1	—	2	3
Rumanians	—	—	—	2
Dutch	—	—	14	1
Hungarians	—	—	—	1
Iranians	—	—	—	1
British	20	—	61	—
French	270	—	53	—
Belgians	—	—	2	—
Danes	—	—	3	—
Albanians	1	—	—	—
Swiss	3	1	—	—
Czechs	1	—	—	—
South Africans	—	—	—	1
Total	805	881	205	216

Source: Suez Canal Authority, *Suez Canal Report 1958*, 1959, p. 28

vessels draughting 37 feet and having about 45,000 gross tonnage. In addition, an important innovation was introduced which established a uniform type of revetments to protect the banks, displacing them to a distance allowing future widening of the Canal without need for their demolition and costly reconstruction.

Construction work according to the modified eighth program was begun early in 1958.[25] Before the completion of this program, another major improvement program known as "The Nasser Project" was announced. This project aims at doubling the Canal throughout its length, deepening it to permit navigation by large oil tankers which might otherwise take the costly route around the Cape of Good Hope. This program also entails the improvement of Port Said harbor and of electronic communication, and the development of workshops and fleets of dredges.

TABLE 3
Suez Canal Employees, by Job Category as of December 31, 1959

Engineers	122
Administratives	127
Port-Officers	17
Pilots	216
Doctors and Druggists	31
Tug-Masters	36
Technical Clerks and Foremen	98
Clerks and Typists	450
Total	1,097

Source: Suez Canal Authority, *Suez Canal Report 1958*, 1959, p 26

The financing of the eighth program and the Nasser project will be greatly assisted by the IBRD loan of $56 4 million referred to early in this paper. The World Bank loan is intended to meet the foreign exchange requirements of projects, the total cost of which is $107.9 million. The Canal will be widened to accommodate ships with a draught up to 37 feet and a weight of up to 46,000 tons. Port Said harbor will be improved and a modern plant for servicing ships passing through the Canal will be established. Completion of the program is expected by 1961. The loan is for a period of 15

25. The Suez Canal Authority, making use of local contractors and of thousands of high school and university student volunteers, completed almost 95 percent of the excavations above water level. The underwater dredging and the construction of the revertments were entrusted to a consortium of three American firms Atlantic Gulf and Pacific, Standard Dredging, and Hawaiian Dredging and Construction.

years and bears interest at the rate of six percent. Amortization will begin March 15, 1962.[26]

An interesting aspect of the loan is the participation of a number of private banks which have agreed to provide, without World Bank guarantee, an amount in excess of $5 million. The participating banks are the Bankers Trust Company, the Bank of America, the First National City Bank of New York, the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York, the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Bank of Tokyo, the Chemical Bank New York Trust Company, the Hanover Bank and the Riggs National Bank of Washington. The willingness of these institutions to aid in the finance of Canal improvements attests that the Suez waterway is now considered a fully "bankable" operation.

REASONS FOR EGYPTIAN SUCCESS

The notable accomplishment at Suez is due to a number of factors which can easily be discerned:

(1) By virtue of preparation extending over many years Egypt was in a position of readiness to take over and administer the Canal. The anticipated expiration of the Suez concession in 1968 had long led Egypt to insist that the old Company employ ever-increasing numbers of its citizens for posts of responsibility as well as for lesser jobs. Thus, a substantial number, over half of total administrative personnel, were Egyptians or other Arabs at the time the Canal was nationalized and there were five Egyptians on the board of directors of the Company. Of all employees including construction and maintenance workers in July 1956, at the time of takeover, eighty-five percent were Egyptian.[27] Hence the Egyptians were not unfamiliar with the operation and maintenance of the Canal.

The first appointed chairman of the new Suez Canal Authority, Dr. Halim B. Badawi, had acquired a great deal of experience with the waterway when he was a member of the old board of directors. In 1954 he had headed a study group drawing us future plans for the Canal. The first-appointed vice-chairman, Mr. Mahmud Yunis, a qualified engineer and a competent administrator, later assumed the post of chairman.

Moreover, at the time of nationalization, the new Egyptian management showed active determination to retain and utilize the existing staff, whether local or foreign, in order to minimize the impact of interruption and to fill all vacancies with the most competent talents available.

(2) A high degree of independence was granted to the Suez Canal Authority from its inception. Law No. 146, 1957, states (Article 1) that the Authority

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26. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Press Release No. 615, December 22, 1959 It has been estimated in *Al Ahram* (Cairo, December 26, 1959, p 3) that the implementation of this program will result in an increase of $22.5 million in Canal revenue in 1962.

27 Egyptian Embassy, Press Department, *Egypt News,* Vol III, No. 31, August 10, 1956, p. 3.

is established as an independent juristic personality.[28] Independence as well as adaptability are stressed in Articles 5 and 6 of the same law which give the Authority the right to carry out any necessary plans related to the Canal service. Thus the Authority was freed from the civil service, accounting, financial, procurement and other policies and regulations ordinarily applied to government enterprises. It was exempt from customary government routine and rules and therefore flexibility in managerial practices and procedures was possible.

(3) The nationalized enterprise was subjected to the discipline of the market place through the adoption of the guiding principles of commercial firms for its operation. Article 6 of Law No. 146 stipulated that

> Independently of government rules, and régimes, the Suez Canal Authority shall follow such suitable methods of administration and working as (are) adopted in commercial concerns.

The Authority was to have an independent budget to be prepared in accordance with the normal rules of commercial enterprises. Moreover, the property of the Authority was considered to be legally private property.

Thus, like a private firm, the Suez Canal Authority was expected to operate as efficiently as possible, to maximize its profits within the framework of surrounding circumstances, to improve its technological position, and to secure continuing customer patronage by the provision of good service. Colonel Yunis, chairman of the Authority, speaks of the agency as being run on completely "economic and non-political lines," that is, on a "completely private enterprise basis." For an example to prove his point he cites a managerial decision involving acceptance by the Authority of contract bids from the United States because they were cheapest, even though at the time US-UAR diplomatic relations were at a low ebb.

(4) Consolidated and unified managerial power was established by allocating the running of the Canal to a single Authority. Thus Article 7 of Law No. 146, 1957 states:

> The Suez Canal Authority shall be the exclusively competent body to undertake the issue and execution of such regulations governing the navigation in the Suez Canal and such other regulations as are necessary for the good running of the service

Egyptianization has eliminated a great deal of friction and wasted effort formerly spent on conflicts between the government and the old Company. Government regulations in the past were sometimes in conflict with Company actions. Furthermore, administrative and operational offices are now combined in a single location. On-the-spot decision making and supervision have simplified bureaucratic operations and communications. Policy decisions need

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28. Law No. 146 is reproduced in Suez Canal Authority, *Suez Canal Report 1958*, 1959, pp. 19-24.

no longer be referred to Paris. A consequent substantial reduction in staff has been made possible by elimination of the double employment required by the existence of the former management abroad.

(5) The Authority was in a position after nationalization to take the long-run view. Planning was no longer restricted by the frame of reference of a concession of limited duration as was the case with the old Suez Canal Company. Investment choices were therefore modified by the changed time-span of decision making, one concrete result being the enlargement of the Canal improvement program.

(6) Assistance from foreign sources has been a definitely minor factor in the Egyptian success. The only exception of significance to this generalization is the case of clearance of the Canal after the Suez War, a problem of unprecedented and extraordinary magnitude and not a normal duty for the management of the Canal.

Agreement on Compensation

The act of nationalization was accompanied by proposals for compensation to the shareholders of the old Suez Canal Company. The presidential decree of July 26, 1956 provided that the former owners were to be repaid at the price of the shares on the Paris bourse on the day preceding nationalization. Lengthy negotiations followed involving such problems as the accumulated overseas investment funds of the Company, pension responsibilities, and the anticipated earnings of the Canal from 1956 until the day of expiration of the former concession in 1968. A preliminary agreement between the Egyptian government and Company shareholders on the principles of compensation was signed in Rome on April 29, 1958. The final agreement was accepted by signature on July 13, 1958 at the Palais des Nations in Geneva by the representatives of the United Arab Republic, the Compagnie Financière de Suez (as successor to the Suez Canal Company) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. According to the final settlement the government of the UAR agreed to pay to the shareholders of the nationalized company the equivalent of LE 28.3 million, less than LE 5 million which had been paid, since nationalization, as Canal dues in London and Paris. The balance was to be met by annual installments of LE 4 million to be paid on the first of January of the years 1959 to 1963 and by a final payment of LE 3 million on the first of January, 1964.[29] The first two installments were duly paid by the UAR.

As a result of the Rome agreement the United States government released the blocked Egyptian assets on May 1, 1958, removing the restrictions introduced in the latter half of 1956. Following the American release of Egyptian

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29 International Monetary Fund, *International Financial News Survey*, Vol XI, No 4, July 25, 1958, p 26, and Vol. XI, No. 36, March 20, 1959, p. 289.

funds, an agreement between the UAR and France was reached in August 1958 in Zurich for the settlement of financial problems created by nationalization and by the Suez invasion. Restrictions on French and Egyptian funds were removed. At the end of February, 1959 an agreement was reached with the United Kingdom to release blocked sterling balances and other Egyptian accounts held in the United Kingdom and to provide for the desequestration of British property in Egypt, thus liquidating the last of the problems created by the Suez crisis.

Conclusion

Information concerning the operation and economic development of the Suez Canal has been overshadowed by a preoccupation with political problems and issues. This condition has not helped to reveal the actual development of the Canal under Egyptian management A recent article by Mr. Nevill Barbour in the January issue of the British periodical, *International Affairs,* dramatizes this situation:

> I think that for years our press has been preoccupied by the political differences between ourselves and the two countries composing the UAR It has tended to concentrate on everything that is unfavorable and to ignore the favorable. One example will suffice: The press and propaganda campaign which maintained that the Egyptians would never be able to manage the traffic through the Suez Canal In fact it appears that 25 percent more ships than before are passing through, with just as low a rate of mishaps as ever, though the Canal authorities have reduced the number of employees by 28 percent This propaganda did us immense harm.[30]

Egyptian success in the day-to-day management of the Canal and Egyptian initiative in enlarging its facilities give promise of ever-greater benefits to both the economy of the UAR and the users of the Suez waterway.

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30. Nevill Barbour, "Impressions of the U.A.R.," *International Affairs,* London Oxford University Press, January, 1960, p. 30.

ETHIOPIA: POWER OF MODERATION

Leo Silberman

ETHIOPIA, the only Christian country outside Europe to survive, the realm of Prester John who would come to the assistance of Christendom in a hour of crisis and redress its waning fortunes by attacking its foes from an unexpected flank, has been the subject of political speculation since medieval times.

Once again, Ethiopia attracts attention. What is her constructive role as the oldest independent country in Africa with so many traditions that hail from Jerusalem and Byzantium? She belongs to Africa, and the United Nations justly chose Addis Ababa as the seat for its newly founded regional organization, the Economic Commission for Africa. Bordering the Red Sea, in possession of the head waters of the Blue Nile, and governed by the Semitic Amhara and Tigreans, both immigrated from the Yemen (with which the country has many natural features in common) she also is part of the Middle East. When Egypt had a frontier dispute with the Sudan in 1958, Ethiopia offered to mediate. More recently, when Egypt and the Sudan came to terms over the distribution of the Nile waters, Ethiopia acted as the spokesman for the excluded African riparian states, advancing the suggestion of a TVA covering the length of the Nile stream. These interventions will become more numerous in the future.

There can be no longer a question that Ethiopia will be content to be an onlooker, "the world forgetting, from the world forgot." Below the surface of political shifts between the powers, Ethiopia is conscious as being of interest as the country with practically no experience of a colonial administration yet one which aims at the same objectives as the ex-colonial territories and the remaining colonies. Ethiopia grapples with modern influences in her own indigenous manner. The rest of Africa has been set in a colonial mould and are the result of non-African ideas and conventions. As in Asia we follow the progress of democratic India competing with totalitarian China, so in Africa the spectacle of this decade is the contrast between the almost undisturbed Ethiopian administration and the neighbors building on the heritage of colonialism.

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Some of the differences stand out. There is, for instance, little heard about nefarious imperialism in the Ethiopian press. Because the Italian occupation was so short there is much less bitterness about foreigners and less difficulty of coming to arrangements with Europe or America. Ethiopia retains a suspicion of foreigners (and who can blame her?) but it was noteworthy that while Europe tried war criminals, Ethiopia left the remaining Italians in peace. The latter fill an accepted niche in the economy. The Italian language in an ungrammatical form is freely employed as a *lingua franca.* Taxi cab drivers in Addis Ababa, using Italian roads and vehicles, also reply in Italian. To all inhabitants of Addis the central Haile Salassie I Square is still simply the *Piazza.* Even the Emperor's strong personality has not been able to impose itself here.

One might observe that in Khartum, English street names are more used than the new Arabic ones, but then in the Sudan pictures and pointers to the supreme symbol of the nation are few, whereas the personality of the Emperor ("His Majesty", as he is in polite conversation) is ubiquitous in Ethiopia. Nothing happens, the visitor soon learns, that has not the stamp of his approval. Everything finally remounts to his initiative. To the world he is known through his dignified appearances at Geneva and his trips to the capitals of Europe, to Washington, Moscow, Delhi and Tokyo. Ethiopia is much smaller than her neighbor, the Sudan. Her 395,000 square miles are considerably fewer than the million of the Sudan. But her ruler, Haile Salassie I, was for a generation the only familiar African figure. He has been at the helm for so long that it is difficult to imagine the continent without him. A kind of African Smuts, his piercing eyes scan a wide horizon, and at the same time express a gentler disposition. To his countrymen he *is* Ethiopia; as nearly universally popular as is possible in so diverse a country, he is known as a *good* man.

He has been responsible for Ethiopia's foreign affairs since at least 1918, i.e., long before he was crowned Emperor in 1930. He headed the liberation forces in 1940 and rebuilt the country. In 1950 the United Nations added Eritrea to his realm with the two ports of Massawa and Assab. What is equally relevant to his people is that his lineage goes back over centuries and claims to be the oldest dynasty in the world. People believe in the Solomonic descent.

There is no republican movement in Ethiopia. In ex-colonial countries politicians have to establish their legitimacy to populations which used to look to chiefs, now pushed aside, or to district officers who today are but the instruments of African governments. In Ethiopia the institution of King of Kings has never been questioned. Even in its period of decline in the 18th century it exercised its judicial and ceremonial powers. In the 19th century it was a fountain of strength and has added to its great authority ever since. While other monarchical governments wilted at the first touch of modernity—the Ottoman sultanate, the Egyptian ruler, the courts of India and China—Em-

peror Theodore was able by 1860 to subdue all divisive provincial chieftains. His successor Johannes defeated the main external enemy, the Egyptians, in three successive wars. He also checked the Sudanese Mahdists, elsewhere victorious, though the campaign cost him his life. Menelik, who ascended the throne next, defeated a European power, the Italians at Adowa. This victory in 1896 saved Ethiopian independence. It set the stage for Menelik's dexterous negotiations which confirmed his extensive conquests, thereby releasing the Amhara from the mountain fastnesses into which they so long had been penned by the lowland peoples who had gathered under the flag of Islam, and the marauding pagan Galla. The Galla, Danakil and Somali were to a large extent incorporated into the Ethiopian empire. As the years proceeded their rebellions became less and less frequent.

Great inner security is imparted to Ethiopians because there never is any doubt where power resides. Indigenous and alien peoples feel sheltered under Haile Selassie's state umbrella which has been up so long. Foreigners know that the Emperor, even before he officially became the head of the state, was committed to progressive development of the country.

* * *

Progress gained a new momentum when, in the period 1950-54, monetary investments more than doubled in the private sector. It should be added that a single Dutch investor accounted for half the increase. Italian war reparations —$6.5 millions—are employed on the Koka electrical installations. The dam is complete and pylons and power lines to Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa are in position. The Yugoslavs building up Assab port are ahead of schedule and the harbor should be ready in 1961. The United Nations and Point Four have given substantial help; American aid amounted by 1956 to $60 millions. Further World Bank and American loans have been devoted to highway construction and telecommunications, the air lines, and the Development Bank designed to give credit to farmers. New German credits exceed seven millions. Industrial establishments now furnish the country with textile goods, leather articles, products of wood and much more. Up to the recent fall in the world coffee price, the country had a favorable trade balance. Loans were paid from earnings. Ethiopia was a good risk, and pursued a conservative economic policy. But the momentum has spent itself.

No oil or mineral discoveries have been made in recent years and coffee remains the country's main export, followed by hides and skins, pulses and oil seeds. The coffee production has risen in the world from 41 million bags in 1952 to a current 67 million and a restrictive agreement was signed in September 1959 by the main producing countries. Ethiopia has suffered severely from the drop in world prices but is no party to the quota system agreed upon. Her production is not large enough to make any difference to the world market and a restriction would have made no sense to the people who had just hailed

the building of roads to the coffee forests so as to boost the exports. It would have been expensive to administer.

The loss of foreign exchange has forced the State Bank to curtail loans. Merchants and importers have been hit. Cotton goods consumption, always a reliable index of mass prosperity, slumped from $16 millions to 10. A so-called health tax was imposed, in effect an additional land tax, one third of the former taxes. The Five Year Plan has slowed down. This is the more serious because Ethiopia is no country which wants to be hurried even in the most advantageous economic circumstances. Caution, diffidence, secrecy are national characteristics. This is no country for the impatient investor, if only because the Amhara are by tradition land holders and warriors, not traders. The Muslims are the mercantile element in Ethiopia and isolated from the state apparatus that sanctions all important new enterprises. Outside the Imperial family few Amhara are associated in commercial ventures. To those who know Ethiopia, the fact that the annual budget was long kept a state secret does not astonish, nor that the Five Year Plan (of Yugoslav authorship) has only just been released, two years after it was submitted and accepted. Today its main assumptions are outmoded.

* * *

The Emperor's visit to Moscow in the middle of 1959 was motivated by political considerations which we shall presently discuss, but it also was the result of the prevailing economic crisis. The Soviet promise of a loan of 400 million rubles filled a serious, disquieting gap in the country's finances. In a period of greater liquidity the surprise the Emperor's journey evoked among Ethiopia's American friends might have been productive of some additional American aid, but this has not been forthcoming in view of the tight money market in the United States

The Soviet tax payer will have to bear the cost of the Russian commitment and he may be pardoned if he finds it a somewhat novel experience. *Pravda* has described the Emperor in the past as a tool of imperialism. Most unfairly, Mr Spencer, originally from the Midwest, was singled out for attack. As confidential advisor to the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he served Ethiopian interests with loyalty. However, the American presence is nowhere more in evidence than in Ethiopia. At Asmara a United States telecommunication base is manned by a thousand American service men. There are army advisors, experts in agriculture from Oklahoma, Americans in the Ministry of Education (which because of its importance is under the direct supervision of the Emperor), Americans at the head of the State Bank, the Imperial Highway Authority and in civil aviation—until a year ago, the Imperial Ethiopian Airways were a subsidiary of T.W A.

In mid-1959, when the Emperor visited the Soviet Union, the other new faces that later made their appearance in Moscow had not revealed themselves

The season of unsuspected goodwill tours was inaugurated by Haile Selassie. Even today a monarch is a rare thing at the Kremlin. However, Russian interest in Ethiopia is of long standing. Africa was of no interest to the Czars or the Russian Church with the exception of Ethiopia. The Czar sent rifles and ammunition before Adowa and never recognized the Italian claims to an Ethiopian protectorate. The Church sent prelates and invited the Ethiopian archbishop to preach in Russia. Disregarding the monophysite doctrine, the Orthodox clergy hoped that the Ethiopians would affiliate. Though there was no trade with Ethiopia, the Czarist embassy was a large one. Unique at the time, the Russian Red Cross fitted out a hospital in Addis. The Russian flag was briefly hoisted at Sagallo between British Zeila and French Jibuti on the coast. After the Second World War, the Soviet Embassy was generously staffed. Then, over the federation of Eritrea, the two countries took opposing stands. Only now has the Emperor returned to the balancing policies of Menelik. The Soviet delegation in Addis Ababa is still discussing on what the loans are to be spent. When they will have decided we shall know the number of Russian technicians that will work in the country. Probably Mr. Khrushchev, who has promised to visit the Emperor in Addis Ababa, his first though presumably not his last visit to Africa, will lay the foundation stone to an important project.

The Ethiopian government believes that it will control the communist influence. The Ethiopian public was pleased that so large a sum had been granted to Ethiopia. Whether this sentiment bears with it a growing uncritical eulogy of all things Russian remains to be seen. The authorities point out that there are no mass organizations equivalent to those that in democratic days existed in the Sudan, no large political women's or youth clubs that might come under communist leadership. In Eritrea there are a few trade unions, but none in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian peasant is anxious about the security of his land, but he can generally manage on what he now occupies. His periods of difficulty are confined to the exigencies of life, a marriage or a death. With irrigation and better access to markets he can hope for an easier life. He may have his difficulties with the Ethiopian Church. However, this institution too, ancient pillar of national independence, bestirs itself The Italian occupation deprived it of some of its privileges. Today it is conscious of awakening Islam. New seminaries are available; translations into the common language are being made of the sacred texts, hitherto inaccessible in Ge'ez The archibishop will be an Ethiopian not, as hitherto, an Egyptian Copt; bishops have been appointed. The missions compete with the Ethiopian Church: French Canadian Catholics are prominently at the University College of Addis Ababa; the Lutherans have just been allowed to open the first independent radio station.

The Emperor must have been impressed at Russian propagandist skill. He no doubt compared his reception in the Soviet Union with the correct but formal welcome in Brussels, Paris and Lisbon on the second leg of his voyage.

Ethiopians are conservative and feel perhaps more secure with the Western reception given to His Majesty, but they would not be human if they did not note how he was appreciatingly inspecting rest homes in the Black Sea and *factories in the Urals and Stalingrad, how he was honored by a doctorate of* laws at the University of Moscow where he admired the 30 stories of that building housing 24,000 students. Size never fails to impress. The University College of Addis Ababa had less than one per cent of that number of students. It has always been, at least until lately, a special pet of the Emperor's. Exhibits in the Ethiopian section of the Leningrad Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology displayed an Ethiopian Bible and Ethiopian newspapers beside photographs of the Russian hospital gifts. On his way to the air port where a Soviet jet TU-104 was waiting, the road was lined with cheering peasants specially brought to town and athirst for royalty. The banners proclaimed an era of "Soviet-Ethiopian friendship." The Soviets gave the Emperor an Ilyushin-14 airplane and have started to build a school. The Crown Prince, on a balancing trip to America and Canada, was not treated to anything comparable. He actually had asked that little publicity should surround his call.

From the visit to Moscow a tangible political gain may spring for the whole of Africa and the Middle East. It was feared that the Cold War would *run along the Ethiopian frontier, placing the Somalis, to be independent on* July 2, 1960, in the pro-Soviet camp, while Ethiopia was wholly committed to American support. Now Somalis seek their friends where they find them—*one might even hope in Ethiopia, though after the four affrays in* November and December 1959 during which more than 40 people lost their lives, one's hopes for peace in the near future cannot be sanguine. The elections that took place on February 17, 1960, returned the Somali National League to power, and thus puts a more intransigent government in power in Hargeisa which will take over from the British.

The enmity of highland and lowland peoples, peasant for nomad, proselytising Christian against proselytising Muslim, is an old one. European imperialism took advantage of it. The British came into the Horn without firing a shot because the Somalis sought protection against the conquering Ethiopians. Italy pursued in Ethiopia a pro-Muslim, pro-Somali policy which came to an end with Italy's defeat in 1941. While yesterday's imperialism was the menace to Ethiopia's existence, today anti-imperialism threatens her. The five-pointed star of Somalia is a political program. No Mogadishu politician dare publicly oppose the pan-Somali aim of uniting under one administration the five Somalilands: the Italian Trust territory; the British Protectorate; the French Somali Coast; the Northern Frontier District of Kenya and the Ethiopian Ogaden. The latter is equivalent to a quarter of the Ethiopian empire. Its secession might encourage similar moves among the Galla or the Muslim Eritreans. *Irredentism may be infectuous; it certainly is irritating. Fugitive Ogaden* sultans reside in Somalia. The former President of the French Somali Govern-

ment, Mahmud Harbi, is convening from his exile a Pan-Somali Congress which is to be attended by Somalis from all five territories. Until he was ousted from office he was defiantly promising that he would join Jibuti to a Greater Somalia, probably when the Emperor died and the Ethiopian unity of purpose weakened.

The extremist Greater Somalia League fared badly at the 1959 elections in Somalia, but the present Government of the Somali Youth League has increased the police vote by 40 per cent. It now proposes to raise an army alongside the police which hitherto fulfilled both functions. The proposal has internal reasons, due to the struggle between personalities and tribes, but Ethiopia cannot be happy. Rival groups might be armed and rallied under a cry of external danger. The Trust administration bequeaths an old quarrel over the Ethiopian-Somalia frontier, vaguely defined in the 1908 agreement. Numerous pleas by the General Assembly of the United Nations have not been able to bring the parties to a compromise. When last year the former Secretary General of the United Nations, acting as arbitrator, was also unsuccessful, the General Assembly gave up. The usual plea was not reiterated. In 1935, Mussolini started the war over this frontier, at the Wal-wal wells, which he claimed to be in Somalia.

To the outside observer the territory may seem dry wasteland but the prestige of both countries seems involved. Duplicating the problem is the question of the Haud, the winter grazing lands of the British Somalis. The Haud is an essential part of their economy, and one which they mean to have returned to their control. It was yielded to Ethiopia in 1897, occupied by a British Military Administration between 1941 and 1955, and thus only recently has retroceded to Ethiopian administration, now much more thorough than at any previous time.

For a time Ethiopia thought that she could come to terms with the British Somalis once the British were gone. The partiality of many Britishers for nomadic peoples is well-known and to some of these the Somalis have acted as "Ersatz"-Arabs Their enthusiasm exceeded British self-interest. Britain has vital strategic interests in the area. Aden must not come under hostile guns lest the British position in the Red Sea, Kenya, even the Persian Gulf be endangered. Somali friendship is valuable; its price is the support of irredentism, or so at least Bevin, when Foreign Secretary, and the colonial governors of East Africa believed. The latter had little love for independent Ethiopia, the former thought his championship might ease matters for him in the Middle East. Mr. Lenox Boyd, as Colonial Secretary, announced in 1959 that the British Somalis would achieve self government not later than 1961 and could discuss unification with the ex-Italian Somalis. His concern was with Aden, where there are many Somalis. Ethiopia had hoped to deal with two separate Somalilands.

It is not said that even a federation of the two territories would exclude

maneuvers. The trade between Mogadishu and Hargeisa amounts to only $300,000; there are the old rivalries between the two major Somali divisions, the Isaq and the Darod. Kenya nationalists have already declared that they would not yield ground to the Somalis, for their land might contain oil. Explorations are in progress in the vicinity of the Northern Frontier District. In Jibuti 27 of 32 members of the Territorial Assembly have asked that the French Coast become a department of France. It is the only remaining territory on the African continent that voted for a continuation of the status under the Fourth Republic, i.e., to remain a semi-colony under the supervision of Paris.

The Emperor in Paris and de Gaulle at Jibuti have spoken with the same voice. Agreement has been reached on the French-Ethiopian railway which has its terminus at Jibuti and which conveys 48 per cent of all Ethiopian goods traffic. This was the first large-scale investment in Ethiopia and remains by far her largest to date. During the last decade and a half, the number of long tons shipped over these rails increased from 166,000 to 254,000. According to the new agreement, the railways nationality will be changed from French to Ethiopian and its headquarters will be transferred from Paris to Addis. Ethiopia will purchase for about $400,000 another packet of shares bringing their holding to 50 per cent. Each side will be represented by an equal number of directors who elect a President. He is at present a Frenchman.

The cooperation of the two countries was reflected when the Ethiopian press noted the French atom explosion in the Sahara without adverse comments. Ethiopia has generally been a moderating force in the councils of African and Middle Eastern nations as her voting at the United Nations shows. She is a staunch supporter of the United Nations, as she was of the League of Nations She must oppose aggressive ambitions, even aggressive anti-colonialism.

A people more phlegmatic than the Somalis would be nervous as annually the major part of their national wealth—in this case more than a million Somali camels—passed over the international frontier to spend the winter in a foreign, perhaps hostile land. Britain may have to adhere to her cession of the Haud made in 1897. But the Somalis say they were not consulted and hotly contest it. Therefore Ethiopians try to gain time The natural hinterland into which the Somalis have to expand is Ethiopia. The Horn of Africa is a Malthusian area and the Somalis will find it more difficult to export their labor to Aden or elsewhere as nationalism mitigates against the employment of foreigners.

Ethiopia argues that but for the British they might have incorporated the whole of the Horn of Africa. To them an independent Somaliland makes little sense. It is not able to meet even half of its annual budget from its own revenue. It is divided into mutually suspicious blood feuding clans. The Somalis must accommodate themselves or be forever a troublesome people fishing in the brackish waters of their uncertain wells. All Somali rivers come from the Ethiopian highlands.

The situation is not nice: twenty-four Somalis are studying in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. "If the Russians won't help us, the Chinese will", one hears occasionally at Boroma on the Haud frontier where Chinese porcelain of the 16th century strewn about the ruined cities outside testify to former Chinese trade in the Horn that might be renewed. The Ethiopians are unlikely to prolong the treaty of 1954 which stands and falls with the British presence; it runs to 1965. The treaty was criticized in the Ethiopian Parliament as a partial surrender of Ethiopian suzerainty over the Haud and therefore the foothills of the strategic town of Harar. The bargain permits the British liaison officers and Protectorate police to accompany the British nomadic tribes. It reserves offenders for Protectorate courts. It has given rise to disputes as nomads are not defined (is an itinerant trader a nomad?) nor is it clear if the continuance of the British-initiated school implies that new classes may be added as the children advance. Clashes between British and Ethiopian Somalis become international disputes with debates at Westminster. The Emperor, eager to assuage local hotheads, has hanged several members of the Ethiopian security force. Such strong measures combined with the international position of the Emperor with both an American and a Russian backing may possibly tide over the excitement and turbulence of the transfer of power to Somali governments.

More must be done to keep the problem contained within the orbit of the Horn of Africa peoples. Egypt once occupied the Somali ports and wants to return to the Southern straits of the Red Sea. She cannot be indifferent of what goes on at the head waters of the Blue Nile. She has Uganda African nationalists in Cairo and naturally supports Somali students there. She has exerted herself in Somalia where an Egyptian is one of the United Nations Advisory Council of Three and the 65 Egyptian teachers so far posted have quite recently been reinforced by further numbers. Egyptian broadcasts call upon Ethiopian Muslims to remember their primary loyalties.

Haile Selassie's tours abroad included a visit to Cairo in 1959 and provided a trade treaty with Egypt. In January 1960 he was the guest of the Sudan Government. Two Muslims hold ministerial positions in the Central Government and Ogaden sultans are now participating in district work.

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Indirect Rule, as it would be called in a British territory, is nothing new in Ethiopia, but during the decades of centralization Christian administrators have been wholly in authority. Many Galla prospered in the service of the Ethiopian state but did so only if they professed Christianity. They constituted an enclave, somewhat as the Corsicans did in the French colonial service. Visitors to Ethiopia have admired the religious tolerance shown to the Muslims. The two peoples recognize each other's individuality. They do not eat together but in daily life share one another's burdens. The linguistic policy

of the Empire in the schools, both primary and secondary, is quite different. To foster national unity Amharic is the language demanded of every school child. The Muslims have been assured, in the Emperor's speech in Parliament on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of his coronation, that more schools will be built in the Ogaden and in other Muslim areas.

Looking about him on this occasion, the Emperor could claim that this Parliament was an institution entirely of his own making. As far back as 1930 at his coronation he had said: "I wish my people to learn the idea of representation that they may one day rise and take their part in the government of their country." He then knew that he would have to associate the non-Christian peoples more closely to the state. The first Parliament was entirely nominated. It met behind closed doors and so people did not realize that it was more than a rubber stamp—that it forced the ministers to justify their decisions, something which taxed the capacity of many of the old gentlemen.

The lower house of the present Parliament, making up two thirds of the combined Parliament, is elected by universal franchise of all adult men and women. Each constituency is represented by two members, thus giving the Muslims a chance to vote for a Muslim candidate, the Christians for a Christian. In British colonial territories the vote is reserved in the first instance for the elites. There, on the other hand, freedom of agitation and the press is usually allowed. In Ethiopia the printing presses have been the property of the government, though here there has been a recent relaxation. There are, however, no parties; the Emperor denies the need for them. In the Sudan it was seen that they all wanted the same thing: schools, medical services, wells, fewer taxes, and were distinguished only by their following, religious and tribal character and so were an element of disunity. The Sudanese pushed ahead with a full Westminster-type constitution, which did not outlive the economic crisis when the cotton price fell. The Ethiopians have taken a moderate course. Parliament still does not publish its proceedings and thus its impact is limited.

The "young men," foreign educated and sometimes frustrated, point out that Parliament was not consulted over the Soviet visit and did not debate it. They complain that Somalization of District Governors in the Ogaden has not gone far. In some places the Amhara District Governors have Somali assistants, and more and quicker advance is needed. The "young men" are a separate class with plenty of their own problems which they have a habit of projecting. Many object to personal rule as capricious and chafe at the patronage that goes with an old aristocracy. The ministers in turn find the young man half-baked and devoid of political sense. They cleave to the formulas learned in textbooks. Some cases of suicide have been known and some novels have been written about the intellectual who returns from schooling abroad and cannot find a suitable job. The insecurity of service saps vitality. Good men are wasted in minor positions; fear of demotion wastes good men in

senior ones. The system is by modern standards inefficient, but the foreign experts find the old men who do not pretend to meddle in the technical aspects of the ministries easier to get on with than the intelligentsia and more aware of the political possibilities. Once a foreigner has won their confidence he enjoys it wholly and is kept on even after his usefulness is past.

The relation of foreigners to Ethiopians has been referred to with respect to the civilian population and equally important is the type of international technical secretariat that Ethiopia has pioneered. Though seeming to be more shut off than the colonial territories, Ethiopia since the days of Theodore has "shopped" in all the civilized countries, allowing no single country to preponderate in the public service, but hiring experts wherever a country has become famous for a certain aspect of modern life. With a fine gift of perception for national differences, the jealousies of related but distinct nationalities are exploited: the Swedes put to training the Air Force; the Norwegians responsible for the Navy; Italian engineers on the Awash and Yugoslavs at Assab; Americans on the highways and Britishers in the police; Dutch to lay out estates and Germans to do the mapping; Indians run the officers' school. Colonial countries look to one metropolis. Their civil service has a unity of tradition, but the very concentration on efficiency and the administrative aspects of government has starved the political sense of the colonial peoples. They have to learn from Ethiopia as they now diversify their administrations so as to be less dependent on the former metropolis. The new governments still are not sure of the time tables, whether they should follow bureaucratic convenience or the "logic of the situation," with a resulting hesitation that annoys everyone.

The excellent Ethiopian sense of timing is well exemplified in the trips of the Emperor, not only to Moscow but also to Cairo and Khartum. At the time President 'Abd al-Nasir was opening his attack on Iraq and was likely to placate the Nile countries. The Emperor is calling this year on the independent African countries ahead of Dr. Nkrumah or for that matter, President Nasir.

Ethiopia, because of her special position as the independent country of Africa that survived the obliterating imperialist sandstorm, has a special attraction to black peoples everywhere. The Bible speaks of the Ethiopians; separatist Negro churches use the Ethiopian regalia in Johannesburg no less than in New York. In the West Indies a half-secret society calls itself Rastafari, the name of the present Emperor while he was still a power behind, not yet on, the throne. In Ethiopia there is no hesitation, even among the majority of the "young men", of rejoicing in the national peculiarities of the country. An election poster by the young Ethiopian artist Afewerk Tekle is evidence of that. Working in what might be called a late Renaissance style, he pictured the spirit of Ethiopia in monk's habit kneeling on a cloud as it receives the gift of the constitution. This is a book held by two hands reaching from the highest Western skies. Below members of Parliament are filing into the well-known

building that contains both Houses. They are welcomed by the Emperor and at his side the Crown Prince with the caption: "Enter and give good counsel." As in an old painting you see voters still filling the papers in a polling booth. No African country other than Ethiopia would have commissioned such an "unmodern" poster—yet. For all their nationalism they are still too keen to prove their up-to-dateness in European terms.

Incidentally, Ethiopia herself looked to Europe in the past. Her earliest links were to Jerusalem and Alexandria. In the Middle Ages embassies were sent to the Popes. During the Age of Discovery, the Ethiopian King of Kings proposed dynastic marriages to European princes. He thought of parcelling out the Red Sea coast among France, Spain and Portugal. The first American consul at Addis Ababa tells the story of a distinguished Haitian approaching Menelik with the idea of forming a society for the uplift of Negroes. He asked the Emperor to be its patron "I am fully in agreement with your objectives," Menelik said, according to Mr. Skinner, "but you have called at the wrong address I am a Caucasian."* The Haitian would be unlikely to meet with a similar reply today. Suddenly there is an awakening interest in Africa. The librarians in Addis Ababa find that readers demand books on African leaders and problems. Ethiopia has her own fellowship program for African students wishing to attend the University College of Addis Ababa. One of the students was a former Somali district officer, the first Somali graduate from the British Protectorate. He has now returned to British Somaliland to engage in politics. Ethiopia will command attention in the new countries, particularly among the more conservative sections, sceptical whether the brash nationalists with their new-fangled, foreign slogans and their disregard for tradition and legitimacy are the only or best people to bring Africa into her own.

Quite possibly these sections form the majority opinion in Africa, though they may temporarily be in the background. As more becomes known about Ethiopia in the rest of the continent, the realm of Prester John may rise to a new leadership, with its persuasive sense of historical sanction and divine guidance somewhat as the Ethiopian poster in a truly African manner expounds. Internally as in external relations, Ethiopia is a moderating force steadying the ships of state of a number of African countries, and if the alliances extend, of some in Asia as well.

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* R. P Skinner, *Abyssinia of Today*. New York 1906, pp. 131-2.

SOCIAL THEMES IN CONTEMPORARY TURKISH LITERATURE

PART II

Kemal H. Karpat

THE social and intellectual themes in Turkish literature, which are the object of this article, aim basically at instilling in the Anatolian man, often reduced by poverty and fatalism to a condition very near complete passivity,[1] a desire to live and to act according to modern individualistic conceptions of life. This passive state of mind in the Anatolian villagers is admirably depicted through a peasant character, by Fakir Baykurt in his short story *Çilli* (The Freckled). The peasant says:

> Life comes and goes, mankind is no different from animalkind We lay and roll, like the village headman's horse, and so spend our lives. We were born here We got sick here We grew up, got married, dried out and rotted, and we are still here One day we shall not be able to walk or even to rot, and will still be here. It seems that there is something that keeps me here Even if there were not anything that kept me here, I still could not go. If you go by that mountain, another mountain comes into sight, and I don't know what is beyond it My wives don't, either[2]

Writers and poets aim at pulling the Anatolian man out of this inactivity by awakening his curiosity to discover new worlds around him and in himself.[3] There is the idea of enriching his existence by creating new demands and giving spontaneous expression to his higher impulses; for life, according to progressive Turkish literature, is a potential source of happiness to be enjoyed in accordance with the natural aptitudes of the individual, instead of being forced into artificial forms or regulated through rigid traditions. Consequently, action and resourcefulness are praised, fatalism and the contemplative life are deplored. The empirical pleasures are not condemned as sinful or as a weakness of human nature, but are looked upon as the natural consequence of being alive.[4]

The writer feels that he has to devote his art to the service of man. "We are at the happy daybreak of a rebirth: that of Anatolia," says the young poet Ceyhun Atıf Kansu. "We feel by now, in all branches of art, the forward

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surge of Anatolian man and life. As for poetry, the Anatolian people are longing for a poem which makes life more beautiful, more colorful and loveable . . . We are living in the childhood of the poetry of life, of humanity, of men pressing towards equal rights in a future filled with the pure, strong and sensitive air of Anatolia." Cahit Külebi, the poet of the Anatolian village, expressed this call for life in a more direct way:

> In the villages I was born
> People did not know how to smile,
> And thus I remained too puerile
> Let me laugh, just a little.

This spontaneous and empirical approach is supplemented with a moral and political philosophy concerning one's freedom and obligations. Real freedom is the privilege of living a well rounded life without hermetically separating the life of the mind from that of the body. The freedom granted by laws cannot be enjoyed without an inner freedom of the spirit. Furthermore, one has the right to determine the course of his own life and the duty to recognize the same right for his neighbor. Consequently, if there are any barriers opposing the spread of this new concept, they should be eradicated as soon as possible. To free one's neighbor from all that keeps him enchained to forms deemed backward is the intellectual's moral duty. Consequently, a considerable number of writers in Turkey, especially those educated in the Village Institutes, fight obscurantism, which is the main force responsible for the backwardness of Turkish villages, and ignorance, which perpetuates belief in occult forces and fatalism. The life of the peasantry, they say, is ruled by an intricate system of values and beliefs, some belonging to the pagan culture of Anatolia, some brought by Turks from Central Asia, and all of them surviving the Turks' conversion to Islam. Mahmut Makal's *Memleketin Sahipleri* (The Masters of the Country) is only one of the many books on the subject.

The *hocas* and the old women can still function as magic healers in villages because of ignorance. This situation is further perpetuated by the fact that neither modern medicine nor the doctor exists in the village. Mahmut Yagmur, in his *Dertlı Pınar* (The Well of Sorrow), a collection of short stories, clearly indicates that the lack of medical facilities compels the despairing peasant to utilize all kinds of unhygienic and obscurantist "cures" which, in the end, often worsen the patient's condition.

Obscurantism and fatalism reinforce belief in the predestined immutability of the social order. Some people, the landowners in particular, who draw personal benefit from this state of affairs, oppose the teacher, the agent of enlightenment, and support the *imam* and *hoca,* who rely upon religion and tradition to maintain the *status quo.* Others, acting on the pretense of a deep knowledge in religious affairs, preach obedience and resignation to existing conditions, but are careful to secure for themselves worldly reward for the "service" they render the peasant in "enlightening" him on religious matters.

Some of these opportunists are actually agents of certain religious sects in the towns and are trying to recruit disciples for their groups. In order to perpetuate the existing conditions and kill the villager's desire for action and thought, the religious agents describe human existence, as a "field to sow in lifetime and reap the crop in the next world." All one can do, consequently, is to pray, obey and abstain as much as possible from worldly pleasure. Said Nursi, one of the instigators of the reaction of 1909 and founder of the present *Nurcu* (Light Spreader) sect, preaches abnegation as a sure road to paradise. He sets forth his ideas in a book of twelve stories, *Küçük Şeyler* (Small Things), published in 1958.[5] There are always two men in his stories, and both are subject to worldly temptations. The one who succumbs is "lost," while the abstaining one is "saved." At the end of this life, the one who has followed the religious teachings will enjoy the endless pleasures of paradise. This is a materialistic paradise filled with the things described in the *Muhammediye* (Popular religious book teaching Islam) plus the gadgets of our century. So why sacrifice all of them for a few imperfect things in this world? An alluring description of this paradise is presented to peasants by a small town preacher in a short story, *Hasret* (Longing), by an anti-obscurantist writer, Fakir Baykurt:

> We all shall die and will be buried. None of us shall escape from entering the dark hole There, my friends, everything will be changed . . . Just have endurance in this World—some real endurance Do not try to find out this or that. Tomorrow, there, the poor will be rich, and the rich poor You will hire the rich of today as servants in the next world. They will work like donkeys for you In addition to this you will have wives more beautiful than the *huris*. You will have mattresses of peacock feathers and sheets of tulle. You will have tents at your order. Inside them you will smell wonderful odors Your wives' flesh will sparkle in rosy colors Everything will be clean like a fish . . . You will have radios You will have farms with water just like the ones you saw and wanted to have here. You will cultivate them by giving orders to your servants You will have cherry orchards, orange groves Your pomegranates will be bursting with richness, and your figs will produce one thousand to one . . . Everything that you wanted and could not have in this world will kiss your hands there.[6]

But all these regressive forces are unable to keep the peasant in the primitive stage. He is gradually emerging from the world of obscurantism, and in many cases he laughs at the outsider who expects to find him obstinately attached to his traditional beliefs. (Yaşar Kemal, who went to collect fairy tales about the origin of the cone-shaped rocks of Capodoccia, was lectured instead on their geological history and told that nobody around there believed in fairy nonsense.)[7] Moreover, villagers are increasingly interested in modern schools and are coming to believe that education is the best means of achieving a better life.[8]

The technology of the century has produced startling changes in the villages' traditional ways of life. The effects produced by forty thousand tractors introduced into Turkey since 1949 are described vividly in Kemal Bilbaşar's stories, *Pempe Kurt* (The Rosy Wolf); in Talip Apaydın's novel *Sarı Traktor* (The Yellow Tractor) and in Yaşar Kemal's prize winning short

stories, *Çukurova Yana Yana* (Chukurova Longing). The life of a Turkish village, the psychology and habits of the peasant are excellently described in the novel of Apaydın who emerges as one of the best observers of rural life. The tractor interests the villager, according to the novel's heroes, for four basic reasons: it works fast and efficiently; its ownership gives prestige; it enables one to make more money and the driving of it, by the simple process of pressing levers and turning wheels, confers a sense of sophisticated accomplishment. What inhibits the villager from adopting the tractor immediately is not attachment to old methods, but the financial risk involved. The hesitating villager in the novel finally buys the tractor through a plot concocted between his son, the village teacher—always a modernist—and a relative in town who makes the necessary financial arrangement. Other tractors enter the village, for peasants sell their animals—and even land—to buy the machine once its advantages are demonstrated.

In Yaşar Kemal's short stories, the effects of farm mechanization are more realistically described by viewing the situation in the entire region of Chukurova, into which there went about 15 per cent of the total number of tractors imported by Turkey. This area has been subject to constant economic and social change, beginning in the 19th century when it proved to be an excellent raw material producer (cotton in particular), and has been intensively exploited since.[9]

The tractor played a major role in the final act in the troublesome history of Chukurova. Virtually every piece of land was cultivated, and the nomads in the area, who had been too proud to settle in the past, now had no place to go. They begged for a piece of land on which to live. But there was no land. The tractor had taken over all. The sharecroppers and seasonal workers, replaced by the machine, looked upon the tractor as their enemy, and some even decided to destroy it by pouring sand into the engine. Yet, eventually they refrained, realizing that the scarcity of land, not the tractor, was the real cause of the trouble. The tractor was in fact an ally and a friend, if one had the land on which to use it. Those who were fortunate to have it became so fond of it as to bedeck it with flowers and colored paper and spend their days around it.

The abundance of tractors and the easy terms of sale enabled the richer farmers to buy several tractors, just to match colors or keep up with the neighbors who bought larger ones Sometimes the tractor was used for transportation purposes. At times, tractor races, and even "wrestling," that is, games of tug-of-war between tractors, were organized as amusements.

Yaşar Kemal describes vividly how the mechanization of agriculture put on trial an old and special kind of relationship between the landlord and his tenants in the southeast, where land relations were interwoven with kinship ties. Both the landlord and his workers belong to the same social group: *aşiret*. The tenant in this area still works for his landlord as though he were

one of his own family, and in turn receives economic aid and special consideration. Thus the landlord, despite the tractors he buys, continues to keep his former tenants on his land because he feels morally obliged to care for them. This increases the peasants' attachment to him, for they remain secure on their farms, whereas, elsewhere, the sharecroppers, whose relations with the landlord are based solely on economic interest, are displaced as soon as the machine renders sharecropping unprofitable.

The vital dependence of the villager on land and his struggle to acquire and preserve his own property, and hence his economic independence against greedy landlords, has been a source of constant inspiration for folk literature. The *eşkıya* ("Badman"), is one of the heroes of folk literature who dramatizes the struggle for land ownership.[10] He is usually described as the nobleman who is unable to stand the injustice of the landlord or the government official, and takes to the mountains to practice his own concept of justice and to help the peasant. It is the failure of the government to enforce its laws and authority throughout the country on an equal basis, that is, to suppress local feudalism, that gives rise to brigandage. A new idealized and modern form of the badman appears in Kemal Tahir's novel *Rahmet Yolları Kesti*[11] (The Rain Cut the Roads), and especially in Yaşar Kemal's prize winning novel *Ince Memed* (Memed the Thin). *Ince Memed* also deserves special mention for its style and the atmosphere of folk tale in which the plot is unraveled.[12]

This type of literature reflects the worst aspects of the relations between peasants and landlords. The landlord appears as the absolute master of the village. He rewards and punishes the peasants according to their attitudes towards him. He interferes in their private lives, deciding even who should marry whom and when. In the court, the landlord uses peasants as witnesses just as he pleases, and is able to use fraudulent legal evidence to subdue his more rebellious "subjects." His power stems from his ownership of most of the land in the village, which entails the perpetual indebtedness and the vital dependence of many villagers on him.

The village landlord has "bigger" friends, that is, the "rural capitalists" who live in towns but own thousands of hectares in villages. The latter are familiar with court procedure, and can use a host of legal tricks to dispossess the peasant proprietor. The village landlord gets advice from this type of man, and in turn acts as his agent, telling him of lands that can be acquired "easily," or of stubborn peasants who must be "disciplined." But this powerful coalition of landlords, who have the government on their side, is opposed by the peasants who want to keep their properties and are prepared to struggle to maintain their independence. The *eşkıya*, the "badman," intervenes in this struggle as a third force fighting for the underdog. He deposes the landlords and their stooges and helps the peasant maintain his property and independence. In some cases he will even act as a social reformer—this is the present tendency in literature—and distribute land to peasants.

One can perceive through this literature, however, that the village landlord himself, whatever the size of his holding, is suffering because of his ignorance. He leads a life which, economically and intellectually, is not very different from that of the villager. Thus, once more, education in its broadest aspect appears as the means to do away with ignorance and elevate both villager and landlord to a civilized level. Furthermore, despite the conflicts between landlord and peasant, they feel close to each other. They belong to the same community, believe in the same social rules and present to the outside world the picture of a homogeneous group.

At the bottom of all this social distress in the villages lie two fundamental problems which have plagued the people of the barren Anatolian plateau for centuries—scarcity of cultivatable land and insufficiency of water. These cause bloody disputes among villages or families, which may last for generations. Sharing the water of the tiny streams running through Anatolia is such a vital problem that its scientific regulation and use appear as an inescapable necessity. Talip Apaydın's *Yarbükü*, the story of a rice-cultivating village, and Kemal Tahir's novel *Sağırdere* (Dead Valley) provide some excellent insights into this problem. The literature does not indicate clearly the means to cope with the scarcity of land and water but merely implies that science and technology are the only weapons to defeat an unfriendly nature. One may be confident that in the not too distant future literature will openly preach the technological solution.

The contemporary literature of Turkey has made repeated allusions to the relations between the city and the village, and to the attitudes of the peasant and the city dweller towards each other. These two groups are depicted as living side by side, but neither is really interested in the other's situation and ideals. (The idea of bringing them together, as mentioned in Part I of this article, appears to be the task of literature.) In some writers' view, the peasant regards the town with suspicion, believing that it is teeming with scoundrels ready to take advantage of his innocence. Also, he feels that he is despised by the town people, who look with suspicion upon him as an unwanted guest, but do not hesitate to use him. So, once in a city, the villager hides his money as well as he can—by tying his purse to his belt or by sewing the money inside his coat—and pretends to be more sophisticated than he really is, lest he be considered a dupe. This is illustrated by the three peasants in Orhan Kemal's novel *Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde* (On Rich Lands), who seek employment in Adana.[18] The writer describes the peasant as forced by dire conditions in his village to come into the city, where he is a stranger at the mercy of heartless employers and petty government officials.

Literature also provides another view of city-village relations, which is, incidentally, closer to reality. The villager leaves his own community—whatever the reason—and comes into the city usually when he is assured of employment there. Between town and village there is continuous communication,

as the urbanized villagers (usually the younger ones) return to see their families or take them to the town once they have steady jobs. In each town there are *hemşeriler*, village mates who had come into town at an earlier date. Some of these people may have homes somewhere on the outskirts of the city, if they are married, while bachelors live in a *han* (inn), a description of which is found in Kemar Tahir's *Sağırdere* (Dead Valley), or in some cheap room. Upon his arrival in town the villager contacts his *hemşeriler* who will try to find employment for him and assist him until he is able to take care of himself. There is a highly developed sense of mutual assistance in these groups, because of kinship and common origin. Those in the city, if they can save money (and they are able to save it however insignificant their wages may be), buy good clothes and try to look like city people.

There is another kind of relationship between town and village, which is by far the most important one. The villager has some relative or a close friend, often a storekeeper in a nearby town. He will get in touch with one of them and seek advice, especially from the latter, every time he comes into town for shopping or for government business, or whenever he has to make an important decision, such as venturing into a new enterprise. (In Apaydın's novel *Sarı Traktor*, the villager buys the tractor only upon the advice of his town-dwelling relative). The villager is rather proud of such relatives and attaches great importance to what they think about politics and world affairs. He considers them in a superior position, and if he had the chance, he would move himself into the city. The town dweller with whom the peasant deals usually has moved into the city from the village, after acquiring enough wealth to start a business or buy property. He builds his business chiefly upon trade with his former fellow villagers. In many cases he buys the produce of the peasant and provides him with credit, largely for food or farm equipment, which is usually repaid at harvest time. The views of the two parties differ very little on religious and cultural matters and their relationship is a friendly one. The mechanization of agriculture in the past ten years has intensified village-town relations without changing their respective social positions, as the town has become the supplier of fuel and parts for farm equipment, chiefly in the south and west of the country. The small town has also acquired, through the multi-party system, additional importance as a link between the village precincts and the central party organization. As a matter of fact considerable numbers of deputies come from such areas.

It is obvious that the town (approximately five million of Turkey's 7.5 million urban population live in towns ranging in population from a few thousand people to over one hundred thousand) occupies a socially and culturally strategic position. It is the main channel through which the ideas of the intelligentsia and the policies of the government reach the mass of the population. Passive resistance to any ideas coming from the top may be generated in the town, but if agreement can be obtained, policies are greatly

facilitated. Moreover, the government's "field" administration is centered in the town, the home of these lower ranking officials. The latter, being distant from the centers of power, are easily influenced by local people.

The realistic concepts of the upper intelligentsia bear some resemblance to the villager's empirical approach which is born from direct contact with nature and life. Yet between them there is interposed the town with its half-educated leaders and prejudiced, narrow, provincial outlook. The town is the cradle of dogmatism, of ossified Islamic concepts, which make it an almost invulnerable fortress of conservatism. (Village women wear veils only when they come to the provincial town—not the big city—in order to escape criticism.)

Thus, future modernization in Turkey appears likely to be decided in the town to the extent that it becomes receptive to new ideas Yet, there are practically no sociological studies dealing with the town and its place in the modernization of Turkey. But imaginative writers have begun to deal with it. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu in the novel *Panorama,* Ilhan Tarus in *Yeşılkaya Savcısı* (The Prosecutor of Yeşilkaya), Necati Cumalı in his play *Mine*, and even Atılla Ilhan in the novel *Sokaktakı Adam* (The Man on the Street), Tahir Kemal and Orhan Kemal in some of their novels, have shed some light on the town situation

The hero in these works is usually one of the prominent members of the town community. His pre-eminence stems from the fact that he is rich. He is depicted as an hypocritical bigot bitterly opposed to modern reforms, but also extremely shrewd. He uses the designation *hacı* (as Tahincızade *Hacı* Emin in Karaosmanoğlu's novel) in order to exploit the religious feelings of his community. He is often pictured as having more than one wife, as a heavy drinker, and is invariably involved in some ambiguous dealings. Since he considers reforms most dangerous to his supremacy, he does his best to corrupt or silence young government officials or idealistic intellectuals who are enforcing these reforms. Those who resist leave the town as a result of some plot, their careers destroyed. Very few idealists resist in a town which is entirely in the hands of the local "feudal" lords Many government officials become his tools in wrecking the reforms, and yet continue to send the government "excellent" activity reports. The establishment of the multi-party régime has helped the rich man of the small town further to consolidate his position; his nephews became the heads of local party organizations, while other close relatives got jobs in the town administration. Now he no longer uses hidden tactics, but directly attacks the reforms and liquidates them at will, as he does with the reformist government officials or teachers who oppose him.

Women in these towns bear the brunt of conservatism by being forced to lead a life deprived of freedom and in stringent conformity with the moral rules of Islam, as depicted in Necati Cumalı's play *Mine.*[14] Professional work, such as school teaching and nursing, becomes difficult for women in towns,

where a woman's morality is measured according to the degree of her attachment to home and family. So any woman who ventures to take an outside job is considered of dubious morality, and any attack on her, ranging from insult to rape, may be considered as justified by being committed against someone already outside the law of morality.

Contemporary writers dramatize the constant struggle between nature and convention, and the fact that when the two fail to correspond social rules are violated. Young girls married against their will do not hesitate to abandon their husbands and run away at the first favorable occasion. Others elope with the man of their own choice, defying parents and society; abduction of girls in villages is a face-saving device prearranged by girls and boys at times with the parents' connivance to avoid costly weddings Thus, many crimes in both towns and villages, a considerable number of which stem from family matters, are easily related to the rigidity of social rules, and to the basic fact that a society evolving towards individualism needs a corresponding readjustment of its values. This literature focuses attention on the fact that social reforms have created a gap between the small groups of emancipated women of the cities and the much larger group in the towns and villages who have hardly felt the impact of emancipation To close this gap, the writers hold, what is required is not *more* reform, which can all too easily remain only on paper, but systematic and thorough education to generalize the existing ones.

These literary works, while discussing the impact of reform in towns, bring to light a rather striking cultural deficiency in the intellectuals' understanding of society and reform which they view mainly from a political and dogmatic viewpoint rather than from a sociological one. Thus, the intellectual indoctrinated with the lofty principles of reform may disregard the fact that the town has existed for centuries with its own traditions and has developed its own ways of life, which it will not give up at the order of some official. Young officials, who never studied town or village life while in school, become confused and discouraged when confronted by something so unfamiliar and unacceptable and soon try to find their way back to the city. Furthermore, some of them believe that modernism means a kind of "free" life which would be shocking even in a big city of the western world. For instance, the young prosecutor in Ilhan Tarus, *Yeşilkaya Savcısı* appears as a rather pitiful character who, on one hand, appears dedicated to reform but on the other indulges in a series of boudoir adventures and parties that make his life resemble that of the venal feudal lord with whom he fights.

The intellectuals and their attitudes towards reform are treated by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (all his novels provide excellent material for studying the social history of Republican Turkey) in his two-volume novel *Panorama*.[15] The intellectuals, in his view, have renounced their idealism and turned to fight for position and fortune, social prestige and personal privilege. Some of these intellectuals, who have compromised on every principle once fought

for, have acquired the rather glamorous title of "expert" on some subject, by virtue of their authority bestow "expert advice" to make things fit together, *even if these appear fundamentally irreconcilable.* They vie with each other in making everybody happy, as though ashamed and conscience-stricken and ready to apologize for the fact that, at one time in the past, they thought of forcing upon society some "nonsensical measures" under the guise of reform. The few intellectuals who have remained faithful to the reforms are almost powerless to turn back the anti-reformist tide, and are eliminated. (One has to know Karaosmanoğlu's dedication to reforms to understand his violent reaction to the compromises made during the past ten years.)

The intellectuals in literature appear, for the most part, disoriented. All of them are subjected in varying degrees to the impact of the reforms, thereby placing them mid-way between their own traditionalist culture and that of the West. Some intellectuals adjust to the new set of values in which they feel quite at home, others strive to live in their old world, but the largest group remains between the two and belongs to neither. Atilla Ilhan's novel *Sokaktaki Adam* (The Man on the Street) is rather a pessimistic work dealing with these half-intellectuals lost in philosophical speculation and unanswerable questions. There is, however, another group of new intellectuals who do not appear disoriented or pessimistic. These are mostly of peasant origin, and stubbornly fight for recognition and a voice in the country's affairs, especially in the endeavors to better the villagers' lives. Their power stems from their definite goals, and also from a powerful pyschology matured in the natural life of the village and its warm human relations. Their claims are rejected by the traditionalist-thinking intellectuals who consider the discussion of the villagers' plight as leading only to the deterioration of the country's prestige, and to social antagonism.[16]

There is a last group of intellectuals—the few surviving members of Ottoman intelligentsia—who, amid the convulsions of the new generation, continue to live a serene life without grasping the events around them. Abdulhak Şinasi Hisar's novels, *Çamlicadaki Enıştemiz* (Our Brother-in-Law of Camlıca), and *Fahim Bey ve Biz* (Fahim Bey and Ourselves), are admirable pictures of the Ottoman intellectual's life in this age of transition.[17] Haci Vamik Bey and Fahim Bey, the heroes of these novels, appear as kind souls who have no real preoccupations, no real problems, and are quite puzzled as to why the world should change at all. Fahim Bey seems willing to make an effort to adjust himself to the changing world, but his upbringing and the old social values in which he matured prevent his integration into the new society. He is obsessed with the idea of maintaining his reputation of nobility at all cost. Consequently, he rents a large mansion in which he lives in dire poverty. He even starts a business enterprise which goes bankrupt. Unable to accept reality, he goes on calculating fictitious profits and consulting the fortune teller to find hope for the future. (Conservatives have capitalized on Hisar's

works to praise the past, but the author is an accomplished artist, writing without political preoccupations.)

A substantial part of contemporary Turkish literature, in particular the short story, has taken its subject from the city. The emphasis here is placed on the artistic rather than the social aspect of the work. The city subjects are treated as individual cases without attempts at generalization. Nonetheless, the social element is felt (as in poetry) in the spirit of the work and in the environment in which the action takes place.

The method of dramatization and selection of the subject in the novel and short story describing city life have tended lately to follow the American model. There was a trend at one time to pursue Halide Edip Adıvar's method of dealing with city life in the manner of the British novel (*Sinekli Bakkal*, translated into English as "The Grocer and his Daughter," was her main work)[18] but this was soon abandoned. Instead, the individual case method of the late Memduh Şevket Esendal, as successfully applied in *Ayaşlı ve Kiracıları* (The Man from Ayaş and his Tenants), found wider acceptance.

It was the late Sait Faik Abasıyanık who gave a new direction to the Turkish short story, brought it to its highest artistic peak and left a deep impact among the working people of Istanbul—the fishermen, shopkeepers, vendors, drivers, porters, milkmen. He did not study them; he merely delineated, like a painter, brief episodes from their lives. He lived with them, strove to be one of them, and for this reason his subjects are authentic and full of life. A single work of Sait Faik, if studied separately, may not have direct social implication, but his total production presents an almost complete picture of city life and its human problems.[19] The social aspect of the work of Sait Faik, Oktay Akbal, Haldun Taner, Orhan Hancerlioğlu (the last named is a policeman by profession) is delineated in the environment in which the plot unfolds, the poor people chosen as subjects, and the sympathy with which they are looked upon. It is the deep feeling for the simple man which leaves a lasting effect on the reader and a desire to translate thoughts into deeds. In other words, this literature is a kind of psychological preparation for deeper analysis of human problems.

In addition to these writers of city life, to whom one can do little justice by treating them summarily (Oktay Akbal's novel *Suçumuz Insan Olmak*—Our Guilt is Being Humans—was awarded a literary prize last year) there are others, such as Orhan Kemal, who deals extensively with the poorer sections of the city. For instance his works, *Grev* (Strike) and *Cemile* (a girl's name), describing the city proletariat, succeed in portraying certain aspects of industrialization which have not changed people to the extent anticipated by sociologists, for education has not completed the work of the machine. Family relations, despite some individualization, remain on the whole governed by traditionalist concepts, and, in this respect, the group resembles more the village from which most of its members came than the city in which they live.

It is poverty, ignorance, lack of education and sharp differences in standards of living which prevent this group from integrating itself into the city and from developing any attachment to its work-place.

Another interesting aspect of city life is presented by Aziz Nesin (twice the winner, 1955 and 1957, of international competition for humorous story writers held in Italy) in a stream of short stories appearing in book form or in newspaper columns.[20] Aziz Nesin's stories appear to be concerned merely with small human weaknesses, but actually they are based on a keen observation of social forces. He criticizes the red tape, bureaucracy, the opportunist avid for notoriety, the intellectual with a superficial education, the hypocritical preacher, and the like. The politician and the newly enriched classes are his chosen targets, particularly their mechanical speeches, imitative manner, opportunism and unscrupulousness. Aziz Nesin's topics come from ordinary daily life, but through humor and wit he gives them social significance and succeeds in sharpening the dissatisfaction of the reader with existing conditions His short stories are widely read, probably not for their literary value, which may not be permanent, but for the light they shed on the ills of society.

The humanist spirit is also evident in the literature which may be called nationalistic, although the term may not be quite appropriate in describing Cengiz Dağcı's works dealing with a Turki group outside Turkey. The author is an ex-officer in the Red Army, who later joined the Azerbaijan Legion organized by the Germans in 1943 to fight for the independence of their Turkic lands. *Korkunç Yıllar* (Frightful Years), and *Yurdunu Kaybeden Adam* (The Man Who Lost His Country), tell a most intimate story of the war years in Russia, of the German occupation and of the fight of Soviet minorities for national independence. One perceives clearly in these novels that political indoctrination, however strong and apparently absolute, has not destroyed feelings of nationality or religion, but, on the contrary, has helped strengthen them. The last novel, *Onlar da Insandı* (They were Humans Too) is devoted to the description of forced collectivization in a Tartar village in Crimea. These works are imbued with a deep feeling of compassion for the human being left at the mercy of forceful ideologies. They have no pan-Turanic designs as one may be induced to believe. Dağcı's novels depict the personal experience of a sensitive soul, and they have found wider acceptance among liberal-minded intellectuals than extreme nationalists or racialists.

The socio-intellectual literature described in this study is usually read by students and teachers, as well as by certain sections among the upper class intellectuals. Letters to editors about literary writings in several reviews indicate that these readers are spread more or less evenly throughout the country. In some instances, those living in the smaller communities seem to be even more interested in this type of writing, probably because of the reality of its description. Even in villages, according to letters from village teachers, there is considerable interest in reading or listening to short stories which deal with

village life (that is, with events familiar to the villagers) and which are written in a simple Turkish.

An edition of such works is usually exhausted within a few months after it is put on sale, a fact which indicates the interest with which it is received. (Mahmut Makal's *Bizim Köy* is now in its seventh edition.)[21]

The effects of this literature on the public mind and upon government policies cannot be accurately determined at this stage. But it is quite certain that social awareness is increasing in both quarters, as is indicated by the expanded coverage of social topics in newspapers and by the government's benevolent attitude towards the discussion of social matters. We may conclude by stressing the fact that literature plays an instrumental part in preparing the state of mind and the emotional background which determine and accompany social evolution. Turkey, by accepting the multi-party life, has embarked on a new socio-political venture whose final outcome is quite uncertain One hopes that this venture may lead to democracy and freedom in the social, economic and cultural fields, as necessitated by the society's level of development. This is the general demand voiced by literature. It is the responsibility of the leaders and of the advanced groups to understand properly this demand and answer it in constructive ways.

NOTES TO PART II

1. The poet cannot remain passive before a situation thus described by a school teacher from eastern Anatolia

> "There is no sign of the social gaiety in Bingöl I have
> not heard any songs during the time I have been there
> My friend, Mr Hanefi, the school master, who was with me,
> said that during his stay there for three years he had
> not heard any songs either." See *Altan*, April-June 1938

2. For Fakir Baykurt see *Çilli* (a small volume of short stories).

3 A few verses taken at random and translated literally may illustrate better this point·

> I am indeed so happy to be born,
> I love the earth, light, struggle and bread of this world (Yürüyuş)
>
> Open, lock, open
> On the land of a new country,
> A new heart
> Like a record unheard of
> Should beat with new music
> —From the poem "New Life, New Light, New Voice"
> Ilhami Bekir
>
> I have never wanted so much from heart,
> The two billion people populating five continents,
> To embrace all of them at once
>
> Is it possible dear brother, is it possible?
> Not to be saddened
> From the moment we think
> Of the forlorn children filling the streets?
> —From the *Duvar* (Wall) Poems of Atilla Ilhan
>
> Is this arrangement going to be the same?
> The fleas swallowing elephants,
> (A Turkish proverb meaning that one gets more than his due)
> To a family of seven

To suffice three and a half loves?
—From *Pireli Siir* (The Poem with Fleas) of Orhan Veli.
(*Varlık*, July 1946, p. 4).
I was born crying friend, friend,
I shall die saying friend, friend;
I have become all people's friend,
I shall know everybody as a friend.
—From Ceyhun Atuf Kansu's poem collection *Yanık Hava* (Longing Melody).
Hold my hands, Zeynep, hold my hands.
Let's skip from one mountain to the other
To watch the sky and the earth.
I shall show you a country,
A country
With lands untouched by human hand
Since the time of father Adam
—Poem by Julide Gülizan, *Demet*, Dec.-Jan., 1954-1955.

For other examples see Nermin Menemoncıoğlu, "Modern Turkish Poetry," *The Western Review*, Spring, 1959

4. André Gide's works *La Porte Etroite* and *Nourritures Terrestres* which gave strength to this argument were widely read in Turkey

5 Because of space limitations, the writer does not indicate the year and place of publication of most of the literary writings to be cited in the following pages. Suffice it to note that most of these works were published since 1950 in Istanbul

6. This short story appears in the *Çilli* (see note 3)

7. *Peri Bacaları* (Fairy Chimneys) by Yaşar Kemal is a penetrating book of short stories about social conditions in various parts of Turkey

8 In this connection, Fakır Baykurt's collection of short stories *Efendilik Savaşı* (The Battle to Become a Master), published in 1959, provides excellent insight into the villagers' motivation in demanding education This is a practical motivation as schooling provides a better income and a higher social status See also Orhan Çıray, *Köyümüz ve Okul* (Our Village and School), Istanbul, 1959. The village literature comprises a number of other works which have not been cited for this article Among them Muhtar Körukçu's two works *Köyden Haber* (News from the Village), and *Anadolu Hikâyeleri* (Stories from Anatolia) must be given much credit Körukçu is a literary critic and one of the first to deal with the village life. M. Sunullah Arısoy's *Karapürçek* (name of the village) also deserves special credit. Fakır Baykurt's *Yılanların Öcü* (The Serpents' Revenge) is a prize winning novel recently published, which provides keen insights into village struggles

9. Çukurova is situated on the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean. It is the richest farming area in Turkey, and is a region of large landholders, of cotton fields and truck gardens, and of industry, where thousands of people formerly found work in the summer (One is reminded of Steinbeck's California in the *Grapes of Wrath*). Something like 15 per cent of Turkey's real income is funnelled into the Çukurova, but to only about five per cent of its two million inhabitants The area was covered with marshes in the 19th century, and the surrounding mountains teemed with wandering Yörük and Türkmen kinship groups who claimed much of the land The Ottoman Sultans decided to subdue the feudal lords, settle the nomads and take away their land, which proved to be excellent for cotton growing Hence, workers were needed. Egyptian workers were imported and subsequently became part of the population. The tribesmen rebelled, were defeated, and only partially settled Friction and violence continued, as avid landlords wanted to take over whatever land was available and did not hesitate to do so to the detriment of the tribesmen's pasture lands See *Türk Tarih Encumeni Mecmuası* (Review of the Turkish Historical Commission), 15-20, Istanbul, 1920, and Hamit Sadı Selen, "Türkiyede Bir Iç Iskân Örnegi" (An example of internal settlement in Turkey), *Iskân ve Şehircilik Haftası Konferansları*, (Settlement and town planning weekly talks), Ankara, 1955, pp 91-97. The best history of the above happenings was told by Dadaloğlu (folksinger, member of the Afşar kinship group), in his epic *destan* See Haşım Nezihi Okay, *Dadaloğlu*, Ankara, 1959. For a social study of the area, see Wolfram Eberhard, "Nomads and Farmers in Southeastern Turkey," *Oriens*, vol 6, 1953, pp 32-49

10. The best known badman epic is *Köroğlu Destanı* (The Köroğlu Epic), which has been subject to intensive study in Turkey See Pertev Naili, *Köroğlu Destanı*, Istanbul, 1931, pp. 104-111. (This was part of a series of works connected with folk singers, conducted by Fuad Köprulü) Köroğlu appears in several versions, among which the older ones describe him more as a brave leader than a social reformer.

The impact of social conditions is visible also in some other branches of folklore. For instance

the inspiration of *Eğin*, a song of loneliness, is surely found in the conditions which make it necessary for the villager to leave home and wife to work for a number of years elsewhere. For comparison between song and conditions see *Ülkü*, December, 1937—pp. 337-348, and *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri*, March, 1934 - May, 1934, *passim*, July, August, 1939, *passim*.

11. In his theme for the novel, taken from André Maurois, the author says. "The society without a sound moral foundation and unable to deal with its corrupt men shall feel—under the impact of atavistic savagery in his heart—admiration towards the bandits" Some of Kemal Tahir's many novels and stories are *Köyün Kamburu* (The Hunchback of the Village), *Yedi Çınar Yaylası* (The Seven Planetree Plateau), *Göl Insanları* (The People of Lakes), *Kelleci Mehmet* (Headhunter Mehmet), *Kurt Kanunu* (Wolf Law). Some have been translated in foreign languages, chiefly French

12 Yaşar Kemal is emerging as one of the most powerful writers of the present generation. Among his works not cited in this study are *Sarı Sıcak* (Yellow-Warm), *Teneke* (Tin Can), and *Orta Direk* (Middle Pillar), presently appearing in daily installments in *Cumhuriyet*. On Yaşar Kemal see *The Times* (London) July 30, 1959.

13 Orhan Kemal, the leader of the social realism in contemporary literature, has written about fifteen novels, all dedicated to city workers or the peasants seeking employment in the city. *72 Koğuş* (72nd Cell), *Baba Evi* (Father's Home), *Avare Yıllar* (The Idle Years), *Kardeş Payı* (Brotherly Share), *Murtaza*, *Cemile* (proper names), *Sarhoşlar* (The Drunkards), are among the best known

14. His initial inspiration came from an actual murder case in Kırıkkale, a small town near Ankara, in 1949 A young woman killed her father-in-law because he had spoiled her reputation in town by spreading the rumor that she had deceived her husband Life for her became so unbearable that she first tried to commit suicide and then in a moment of crisis, killed her father-in-law. *Varlık*, March 15, 1959, p 6.

15. The novel, published in 1953, was written in Switzerland where the author was Turkey's ambassador It is supposed to describe the period immediately after 1932, but actually it refers to the late forties and fifties, and probably to the changes which had taken place in his own People's Republican Party This Party adopted a middle-of-the-road course in 1947-48, by amending some of its reformist principles. Yakup Kadri is now in his early sixties and still a vigorous fighter for reform, as is proven by his column in the *Ulus*. He was recently brought to court for one of his articles, but was acquitted. Among his works, in addition to those cited in this study, are *Kiralık Konak* (Mansion to Let), *Bir Sürgün* (An Exile), *Anamın Kitabı* (Mother's Book), and other works of historical and political character. Another view of intellectuals' problems is presented by Samim Kocagöz in his novel *On Binlerin Dönüşü* (The Return of the Ten Thousand). He attempts to give an account of the struggle between the leftist and rightist university youth in the 'forties

16 A good example of this struggle between the two groups of intellectuals is provided by the discussions about the Village Institutes. These have been attacked by conservative reviews, such as *Istanbul* and *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland), and even professional magazines like *Eğitim ve Psikoloji* (Education and Philosophy), and defended by graduates of these schools, who form the bulk of new intellectuals The latter review wrote: "What a pity What were they? Places like prison camps established on the tops of dry hills where nobody went and no birds flew. There was enmity against science, against cities and the city dweller, against the necktie and glasses. Spades, shovels, sickles, rakes, anvils and hammers were used instead of pen and paper. Who gave them the right to attack civilization amid the savagery of those mountains? . . . Are they mourning the insidious system which divided education into two, and the country into two camps as villager and city dweller and instigate enmity against each other? . . Why not the pure cause of the village instead of the Village Institutes? Because the Village Institutes and the village problem are merely a mask of nationality and conscientiousness All they want to promote under that mask is the class problem" (April, 1955, pp 1-3) Mehmet Kaplan, a professor of literature at the University of Istanbul, criticized the Village Institute graduates for their discussion of village backwardness, thereby lowering the prestige of Turkey before the world and destroying the moral foundations of the society. In answering these charges the editorialist of *Demet* wrote, "According to Mr. Kaplan, it is the [moral] tradition of the Turkish nation to be a slave to its masters. If this foundation is shaken, then the servant-master difference will disappear. How could one express such an insolent attitude against Mr Kaplan?" The discussion of village problems continued in an ironic manner: "Certainly, it is to be wondered what betook these village children to disturb the peace of the big men. Let the *efendiler* (masters) act as they please, to develop the villagers if they please, to bring them up to the level of modern civilization if they please, or keep them fettered with moral obligations for centuries. This is their personal business, so what betook you, whose heads have been disturbed in the Village Institutes?" (*Demet*, July, 1956, p. 11.) Mahmut Makal had to add:

"We are not ashamed and embarrassed to lead this life, but are ashamed and embarrassed because foreigners will know about it (the conditions in the villages)." *Ibid*, p 16.

17 *Fahim Bey ve Biz* has been translated into German by Friedrich Von Rummel as *Unser Guter Fahim Bey*, (The Hague, 1954). Incidentally, Von Rummel has also mentioned some aspects of Turkish literature in *Die Turkei Auf Dem Weg Nach Europa* (Munich, 1952), pp 44-45, 132-141, 144

18 Halide Edip Adivar is known in the English world chiefly through her books dealing with the Turkish independence movement *The Turkish Ordeal*, New York, 1928, *Turkey Faces West*, New Haven, 1930, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, Lahore, 1935 In Turkey her fame is derived chiefly from her literary works *Ateşten Gömlek* (The Shirt of Fire), *Tatarcık, Akile Hanım Sokağı* (Lady Akile Street), etc

19 The sale of Sait Faik's novel *Bir Takım Insanlar* (Some kind of People), published first in the war years as *Medarı Maişet Motoru* (The Tugboat of Making a Living), was suspended by a decision of the Council of Ministers because it stressed class differences The author was also brought to court for one of his short stories There is a series of short stories published by Sait Faik, *Sarnıç* (The Cave), *Alemdağda Var Bir Yılan* (There is a Snake at Alem Mountain), *Şahmerdan* (The Battering-ram), *Havada Bulut* (Clouds in the Sky) and others

For a complete bibliography and comments see Tahir Alangu, *Sait Faik Için* (For Sait Faik), Istanbul, 1956 Muzaffer Uyguner, *Sait Faik'in Hayatı* (The Life of Sait Faik), Ankara, 1959

20 Some of his short stories are the following *Damda Deli Var* (There's a Crazyman in the Attic), *Havadan Sudan* (Of Here and There), *Mahallenin Kısmeti* (The Luck of the Neighborhood), *Medeniyetin Yedek Parçası* (The Spare Part of Civilization), *Nutuk Makinesi* (The Speech Machine) and *Ölmuş Eşşek* (The Dead Donkey)

21 Personal interviews with some publishers indicated that the first printing of books by new authors ranges between 2000-4000 copies, the better known ones 3000-6000 A book in Turkey, however, is read by several people as friends exchange books' Literary magazines have a larger circulation

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Martin Halabian
Harvey P. Hall
Robert E Hall
Warren M Hamilton
Mark Hampshire
Holsey G Handyside
Rev. R H. J. Hanley
Paul L Hanna
Maurice Harari
Charles W. Harrington
Christina Harris
David M. Hart
Maxwell Harway
Anna F. Hellyer
R. J Hendricks
Paul B. Henze
Allen Hetmanek
James H. Hill
Howard Hinson
Deane R. Hinton
James Hobbs
W. E. Hocking
Midge Hodgman
George F. Hourani
Harry N Howard
Mrs Roger L Howrigan
Fred J. Huber
Fuad Huneidi
J. C. Hurewitz
John Iannuzzi
T B. Irving
Charles Issawi
Richard H. Jeanneret
Charlotte Johnson
Owen T. Jones
M. R Joseph
Hon. Walter H. Judd
Ibrahim F Kaibni
Mohammad Said Kalla
A. A Kampman
Kemal H. Karpat
Hon. George A Kasem
Rev. V. S. Kearney
Richard F. C. Kegel
Robert C. Kennedy
Lorne M. Kenny
Mrs. Rosemary Kerle
Mrs. Alma B. Kerr
Francis Kettaneh
Kerim K. Key
Majid Khadduri
Fred J. Khouri
M. Mehdi Kianfar
Austin D. Kilham
L J. Killian
Hilda Kirby
George Kirk
Jeffrey C. Kitchen
James V. Knight
Francis G. Knorr
Nevin E. Kuhl
Ake Lagerqvist
Mrs. Sylvia Landress
James O. Langland
S. James Langley
Lynford A. Lardner
Wade Lathram
Edward P. Lawton
John Lazo
John C. Leslie
Allen Lesser
Jesse W Lewis, Jr.
M E. Lewis
Herbert Liebesny
George T. Little
Frank C. Littlefield
John M. Livingston
D. W Lockard
Hon Edwin A Locke, Jr.
Mrs. Gordon M. Loos
Walter M. Luce
R. W. McClenahan
Joseph J. McDonald
Robert Macdonald
Carl McGuire
Ali Mamleef
Menchi Manalo
Philip Mangano
Edythe Mange
Abid A. Al-Marayati
Raphael Margolin
David Margolis
L Markoff-Moghadam
Harry A. Marlow
Thomas E. Marston
A. J. Maxwell
Neal Maxwell
Ernest A. Messerschmidt
Simon D. Messing
Thomas N. Metcalf
A. J. Meyer
Middle East Technical University

Richard P. Mitchell
Mrs Robert C Mitchell
Robert W. Molloy
David F. Moore
Ward Morehouse
Willie Morris
Samuel A. Morrow
John A. Moyne
Homer C Mueller
William Mulder
Robert T. Murphy
William C. Murphy
Hon Wallace Murray
William J. Nagle
Beauveau B Nalle
Sally Nathan
Dragomir Nenoff
William J Nierengarten
Mr and Mrs Claude C Noyes
Martha E Oelker
Robert F. Ogden
Floyd W Ohliger
Hugh W Olds, Jr
Ronald S Ontko
Garry Owen
William V. Pappas
Katherine Parker
G L Parkhurst
G. B. Parkinson
William K. Parmenter
W G Parr
Mrs Nina Peacock
John W. Pendleton
Don Peretz
Frances Perry
Gene B Petersen
E E Peterson
Richard H Pfaff
Charles W Phillips
Wendell Phillips
Charles W. Piper
Mrs. Robert E. Ploss
William Polk
Dalton Potter
Jerome V Powell
Theodore Prochazka
Marie Puhr
Malcolm Quint
Naeem Gul Rathore
Barbara Reason
Howard A Reed
George Rentz
Frances C Rintz
Helen Rivlin
Theodore R Robb
Frances Roberds
Emory G Roberts
William P. Roessner
Francis J Romance
Joachim O Ronall
Dorothy Rood
Kermit Roosevelt
M D Rothe
Marschal D. Rothe, Jr
Otto B Rupp
Helen A Russell
Dankwart Rustow
William Sands
Richard Sanger
Avedis Sanjian
Hon D S Saund
Joseph B. Schechtman
Robert W Schmidt
Frank Schork
George D Selim
Hussein K Selim
Gordon M Sessions
R. D. Sethian
Shouky Shaheen
Stanford J Shaw
Fadlou A Shehadi
Sidney Sherwood
C L Sholes
Benjamin Shwadran
Morgan Sibbett
John H Sigler
Mrs F W Simonds
T W. Simons
Angus Sinclair
Mrs. Ruth Sloan
Mrs Abbot E Smith
D. C. Smith, Jr.
Myron B. Smith
Wilfred C. Smith
O. M. Smolansky
Estelle Smucker
C Stribling Snodgrass
Donald Snook
James Somerville
Arne Sorensen
Ivar Spector
C M Spofford
E. M. Squyres
Richard F S. Starr
Robert Stern
R P Stevens
Mrs Frances C. Stickles
Nancy Sturdivant
Ahmed A Suleiman
Frank Tachau
Gideon Tadmor
Afif Tannous
Hon John L. Tappin
Margaret Tarrer
Fuad Tellew
Robert W. Thabit
Donald F Thaler
Thomas F Thamann
Philip W Thayer
B E Thomas
Betty J Thomas
Lee S. Thomas
J M Thompson
Josephine Thompson
Iris Tomasulo
Anto Topali
Gordon H. Torrey
Jean M Touchette
James A Tower
W J Travers
Charles J Turck
K S Twitchell
John A Unumb
Jack L. Upper
Ruth Van Auken
Lloyd K. Vandersall
Mary C Van Pelt
Mildred Vardaman
F. S Vidal
Dan S. Wages
Marcel Wagner
Mrs. Jeanette A Wakin
Milton C. Walstrom
Joseph Walt
Leonard Ware
Carleton E Webb
Donald E Webster
Mrs. Ava Weekes
Walter F Weiker
Michael Weir
Judith Weiss
John H. Welker
C Bradford Welles
Manfred W. Wenner
Elisabeth H. West
Keith Wheelock
Ken R White
Mary L Whittington
H C. Wiborgh
Charles Wiesner
Donald Wilber
Herbert Willett
Murat Williams
Rev J Willoughby
M W. Wilmington
Hon E. C Wilson
William A. Withus
L C. Wright
Mrs. Walter L Wright
Glora M Wysner
Isam K. Yaktin
Nicholas Yanowsky
Arthur N. Young
Elizabeth Young
James A Young
T Cuyler Young
Leo V Zavatone
R F. Zeidner
Howard M. Zimmerman
Samir Zoghby

Chronology

December 16, 1959—March 15, 1960

General

1959

Dec. 17 The Advisory Committee of the Afro-Asian Economic Conference decided to call for a second Afro-Asian conference in Cairo in mid-April Representatives from Japan, Communist China, Indonesia, India, Iraq, the UAR, Libya, Sudan, Ghana, Ethiopia, and Pakistan took part in the conference which began 3 days ago

Turkey and Greece informed Lebanon that they do not agree to Israel's becoming a member of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation

Dec 18 Major General P S Gyani, an Indian soldier, arrived in Gaza to take over command of the UNEF

The International Press Institute called on the free world's newspapers to help expose a "grave threat to press freedom in Turkey" resulting from the 15-month sentence passed on Ahman Emin Yalman

Dec 19: Another New York Congressman, Representative Victor L Anfuso (D), protested the pending IBRD loan to the UAR for Suez Canal improvements because such action, he said, would condone President Nasir's "aggressive action against Israel and approval of his policy of continued tension in the Middle East"

Dec 23: The State Department disclosed that it was using its influence in Baghdad and Teheran to persuade both sides to negotiate an amicable settlement of their dispute in the Shatt al-Arab

The Arab League "Israel Boycott" central office announced the blacklisting of British vessel *Inchstuard,* registered at Hong Kong, and the Danish ship *Danholm* for "violating Arab boycott regulations"

Dec. 24: Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold was reported to have pressed President Nasir for the fourth time for a reply to his query regarding the failure of the formula for the passage of Israeli goods through the Suez

The Iraq Times published a report from Caracas that Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Tariki is making arrangements for the holding next year of a conference of Middle East oil-producing countries to consider joint action aimed at increasing these countries' share of oil profits to conform to Venezuela's oil-profit sharing formula

Dec 28: Lieutenant General E. L M Burns handed over command of the UNEF to Major General P S Gyani

Britain urged the governments of both Iran and Iraq to use restraint in handling the Shatt al-Arab border dispute, it was stated in London

Dec 30 Britain would like to see direct discussions between Iran and Iraq which could reach some practical agreement on their border dispute, it was reported in London

Iraq wants a postponement of the proposed meeting in January of the Arab League's economic council until February, it was officially stated in Beirut.

1960

Jan 5 The central committee of the International League of Human Rights called on France to take action on the International Red Cross mission report alleging ill-treatment, torture and bad conditions in the Algerian detention camps

Jan 8: The secretary general of the Arab League, 'Abd al-Khaliq Hasuna, conferred with Dr Mahmud Fawzi, about anti-Jewish outbreaks in many countries

Diplomats of nine Arab states boycotted New Year diplomatic receptions in Bad Godesberg for the West German president, Dr. Heinrich Luebke, because they objected to the place occupied by Israel and Finnish representatives in order of precedence.

Jan 11 India and Pakistan announced that they had reached substantial agreement on the alignment of their western border and the disposition of security forces along the boundary line

Jan. 14 Nine African states were asked to seek UN action on charges that Algerian war prisoners have been tortured or mistreated by French authorities

Jan 15 Pakistan has refused to allow Israel to send an observer to the sixteenth session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East scheduled for Karachi

Jan. 17: The UAR has joined Cuba in a decision to sponsor a conference of the underdeveloped countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, to be held in Havana next September, it was reported in Cairo

The UNESCO will launch a world-wide appeal for funds to safeguard the Nubian archaeological sites in the UAR and Sudan, Dr. Vittorino Veronese told a press conference in Bangkok.

Jan. 18: Muhammad Salman, the Director of the Petroleum Department of the Arab League announced that Iran, Indonesia, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina will be invited to attend the Second Arab Petroleum Conference.

Jan. 20: British officials preserved silence on a disclosure by Sir Anthony Eden that, three months before the Suez canal crisis, he told Premier Khrushchev that Britain would fight to maintain her supply of Middle East oil, it was learned from Sir Anthony's memoirs published in *The Times* of London

Jan. 21: Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld conferred with Dr Mahmud Fawzi regarding the passage of Israeli cargoes through the Suez Canal, Israel's declared intention to divert the Jordan River waters and the revival of the UN Palestine Truce Commission.

Jan. 24: The State Department has instructed its envoys abroad to protest whenever foreign governments discriminate against Americans on grounds of race and religion, an instruction resulting from congressional protest mainly against Arab countries which have been alleged to have discriminated against Jewish-Americans.

Jan. 25: General Sir Dudley Ward has been appointed Commander-in-Chief, British land and air forces in the Middle East, effective from May, the Ministry of Defense announced in London.

Jan. 26: President Eisenhower disclosed at a press conference in Washington that he held trans-Atlantic telephone talks with both Sir Winston Churchill and Sir Anthony Eden before the Anglo-French military intervention in Suez in 1956 in an effort to stop that action. He was commenting on Sir Anthony's memoirs.

Jan 27 American officials worried not merely about the fate of President de Gaulle's policy of self-determination for Algeria but also about the future of the French government itself

Jan. 28: The French government ordered its civil and military chiefs in Algeria out of Algiers to prevent their submergence by the settlers' insurrection

Jan. 29: British imports of crude oil in 1959 revealed that the Middle East provided almost 80 per cent of the total, 42 per cent from Kuwayt, 16.5 per cent from Iraq, 14.5 per cent from Iran 13.5 per cent came from Venezuela

Feb. 2: Twenty-five Asian, Arab and African states expressed hope in a letter to Mr Dag Hammarskjöld that France would refrain from conducting atomic tests in the Sahara.

Feb. 3: President de Gaulle was given special powers to rule by decree to meet subversive resistance to his Algerian policy when the National Assembly voted approval, 449 to 79

Feb. 4: The American Jewish Congress said that it would file a protest with the Department of Agriculture over its stand on an Arab boycott against American ships that have traded or may trade with Israel.

Feb. 5: Representatives of 5 Arab states called on Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld to express their opposition to Israeli plans to tap the waters of the Jordan River for irrigation in the Negev.

The executive head of the UJA appealed to US Jews to aid refugees in Israel and elsewhere.

Feb. 6: Three Senators praised the decision of the Eisenhower Administration to increase aid to India and Pakistan.

Feb 8: The Syrian-Israeli border clashes topped the agenda of the opening meeting of the Arab League Council in Cairo.

Feb. 9: Arab proposals to cut off Jordan River waters before they reach Israel are being subjected to a serious reappraisal by the Arab League Council

The head of the largest Orthodox rabbinical group in America appealed to American Jews "to break the Arab boycott of Israel by resorting to similar boycotting methods."

Feb. 10 The Arab League Council postponed for the second time its opening business session because of a lack of agreement on the agenda, mainly on the Palestine problem.

Feb 11 The Arab League has agreed at a closed meeting in Cairo on the circumstances in which war would be declared to prevent Israeli attempts to divert the Jordan River waters.

Feb 13: The bodies of 5 of the 9 crewmen aboard the fabled World War II bomber *Lady Be Good* have been found in the Libyan Desert, the USAF said

Feb 14: The UAR sought to lead Asian-African "indignation and fury" against France for her atomic explosion in the Sahara

Feb 18 Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld warned that the Middle East outlook was "deteriorating" and hinted at a need for the Security Council to consider the situation.

Feb. 19. The American Jewish Congress called on the Department of Agriculture to reject efforts by the UAR to discriminate against American-flag ships that had done business with Israel

Feb. 23: Ambassador Vladimir Erofeyev of the Soviet Union and Dr. Mahmud Fawzi discussed Middle Eastern tensions during a long general conversation on disarmament The Soviet ambassador had had similar talks with Mrs. Golda Meir previously.

Feb 24. Secretary of State Christian Herter has offered Middle Eastern leaders new assurance of US support for the Middle Eastern anti-Communist alliance, it was reported in Washington

It was reported in Colombo that Arab countries are threatening to apply trade sanctions against Ceylon in protest against the accreditation of a Ceylonese envoy to Israel.

Feb. 25. The executive head of the Israel Bond Organization called on American Jews to intensify their investment in Israel's economic development

Feb. 27: Premier David Ben-Gurion declared that his nation would require greater economic aid from American Jews "to achieve peace and security" and accommodate additional immigrants

Mar. 2: An Agriculture Department official said it was "no concern" of the government that ships

carrying American surplus food to Arab countries were barred from trading with Israel.

Mar. 3: Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld said that the last fortnight had seen a temporary improvement in the critical situation in the Middle East

Mar. 5 The sixth conference of the Arab League Economic Council was opened in Cairo

Mar. 7: Ten Arab envoys jointly expressed to Secretary of State Christian Herter their "deep concern" over the visit to the US next week of Premier David Ben-Gurion

Mar 8· Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld sent a message to Dr. Vittorino Veronese, UNESCO Director General, on the occasion of the opening of an international campaign to save ancient monuments of the Nubian Valley

Mar 9. The 16th session of the UNEC for Asia and the Far East opened in Bangkok with delegates from Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan attending, as well as from Asian and Far East countries, the US, the USSR and the UK

Mar 10. A plan under which Arab countries would set aside 5 per cent of their oil revenues for an Arab development fund was shelved following its rejection by Saudi Arabia at the Arab League meeting in Cairo

Mar 13· Plans for the establishment of an Arab-owned oil pipeline company were ratified at the concluding session of the Arab League economic council meeting

Mar. 14· Eight countries in Africa—Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea and Liberia—had made a joint written protest to France against "past and future" atomic tests in the Sahara desert, diplomatic sources in Paris revealed.

Mar 15: Twenty-two African and Asian nations asked Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld to convene a special session of the General Assembly to look into the question of French atomic tests. Officials said that a poll from all delegations would be taken to establish the required majority of 42 in favor of summoning such a session

Aden

(*See also,* Yemen)

1960

Jan 14: It was learned in Aden that discussions between Petroleum Concessions Limited and the two Eastern Protectorate sultanates, Qu'aiti and Kathiri, will be resumed this week on the arrival of Sayyid Samir Shamma.

Jan. 25: Sir William Luce, governor of Aden, told the legislative council that it was his intention to maintain improved relations with Yemen.

Jan 26: Mr. William J Taylor, parliamentary under-secretary of state at the British air ministry who has been investigating complaints about service accommodations in Aden, said that they were "grossly exaggerated."

Jan. 27: It was announced that Sir William Luce will retire in August of this year

Feb. 3· A BPC spokesman said in Aden that the company had been compelled to close down all its refinery plants at Aden and cease operations for an indefinite period following a strike by refinery workers over working conditions.

Feb. 10. 'Amir Mahmud bin Aydarus Al Afifi was recognized by the British government as the new Sultan of Lower Yafa'i.

Feb 11: Sultan Fahd bin 'Ali of Lahj, this month's chairman of the federal supreme council, who is also federal defense minister and adviser on foreign affairs, announced that three more Western Protectorate states, Lower Aulaqi Sultanate, Dathina confederation and Aqrabi shaykhdom had joined the federation

Feb. 17: Twenty-six Palestinian workers were dismissed from the BPC and repatriated to a refugee camp in Lebanon because of their ties with the Adenese workers

Feb 19· Despite a statement by a BPC refinery spokesman that "so far no basis for a resumption of negotiations has been discussed with the union," 'Abdallah Asnaj, Secretary General of the Adenese Trade Union Congress, said that the management had agreed to open negotiations with the union through the mediation of Serge Clavère, Area Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Feb 25· Negotiations between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultanates and the Petroleum Concessions Limited, on the company's draft oil agreement for the Thamud region, have reached deadlock, it was learned

Twelve-year-old Mahmud bin Aydrus Al Afifi was crowned the elected Sultan of Lower Yafa'i.

Mar 4· The five-week old strike by the 1,600 workers of BP's Aden Refinery is still going on, and fears are mounting that other trade unions may soon decide to go on strike in support of the refinery workers, the Cairo daily *al-Jumhuriyah* announced

Afghanistan

(*See also,* General, Pakistan)

1959

Dec. 22. Three persons were killed and 8 injured when the police and security forces dispersed demonstrators in Kandahar. The Ministry of the Interior blamed the incident to "seditious elements" who wanted to evade payment of overdue taxes,

Dec. 24 Marshal Sardar Shah Mahmud Khan Ghazi, former Premier and Defense Minister, died at the age of 73

Dec 31: The editor of *The Daily Islah* has been dismissed for writing in a biography of President Eisenhower that the NATO is a free world weapon against communism, it was reported in Karachi.

1960

Jan. 11: A contract whereby Soviet technical assistants will be made available for the construction of a 430-mile highway from Kushka to Kandahar was signed

Jan. 19: No trace of a Soviet airliner missing since December 13 with 29 persons aboard has been found It was on its way to Kabul from Tashkent

A $22,400,000 Soviet-Afghan agreement providing for Soviet technical and financial aid under the country's five-year construction plan was signed in Kabul. It will help finance the Jalalabad irrigation and power project on the Kabul River in east Afghanistan

Jan 20. The USSR will build a hydro-electric station in the Naghlu area, north of Sarobi, it was announced in conjunction with the contract signed in Kabul

Jan 25 Reports reaching Karachi indicated a continued deterioration of the situation in Kandahar province where the army has taken over in an attempt to suppress pro-Soviet policies of the Afghan Government

Feb 1. The Minister of Public Works, Mr Muhammad Kabir, arrived in Prague to discuss ways of promoting economic relations between Afghanistan and Czechoslovakia

Feb 27 Foreign Minister Muhammad Na'im said that he looked forward to the visit in Kabul of Premier Khrushchev "as another step toward strengthening the friendship and good relations between our two countries" Economic development was the intimated main topic of discussion

Mar. 2 Premier Khrushchev arrived in Kabul

Mar 3 Premier Khrushchev inspected two Soviet-aid projects and conferred for two hours with Premier Muhammad Da'ud

Mar 5: *Tass* reported that Premier Khrushchev and Afghan leaders have issued a joint communiqué on Afghanistan's border troubles with Pakistan which called for a solution of the problem under the UN Charter's principles of self-determination

Mar. 6. In response to an urgent appeal from the Afghan government, the Soviet Government announced a gift of 50,000 tons of wheat to alleviate current shortages

Mar 7 Premier Muhammad Da'ud Khan said he did not understand why some Western newspapers labeled Afghanistan as Communist for accepting Soviet aid He added that his nation needed aid urgently and was willing to accept assistance from all countries provided no strings were attached

Algeria

(*See also,* General, Libya, Tunisia)

1959

Dec 16: 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi said that the current meeting of insurgent Algerian leaders in Tripoli, Libya, might lead to a reshuffle of the cabinet of the Provisional Algerian Government

Dec. 17: *Al-Libi* said that the present meeting of the Algerian leaders in Tripoli would discuss developments of the Algerian problem after the UN discussions and steps to be taken in the military and political fields

Dec. 19: Algerian political and military leaders, according to *al-Massa* will discuss during their present meeting the possibility of moving the headquarters of the Algerian Provisional Government from Cairo to Tripoli.

Dec 22 It was reported in Cairo that a shake-up of the Algerian Provisional Government has put rebel military leaders in all top posts

Observers in Paris were skeptical about the reported shake-up saying that even if the reports were true, "their meaning was open to contradictory conclusions"

Dec 23: It was reported in Paris that independent observers in close touch with the Algerian nationalist organizations in West Germany and Tunisia tended to corroborate accounts of an important shift of power within the Algerian Provisional Government

Dec. 24: Two persons were killed and 41 wounded in Algiers when a bomb exploded in front of one of the city's leading department stores, which was crowded with Christmas shoppers

Dec 29: France will spend the equivalent of nearly $140 million in public funds next year for industrialization and power development in Algeria, according to the Cabinet of Paul Delouvrier

French forces foiled three attempts by Algerian nationalists to send reinforcements from Tunisia into the interior of Algeria

Dec. 31: General Maurice Challe declared that the nationalist rebels, having seen their best units broken up during 1959, had decided to concentrate on "blind terrorism"

1960

Jan 2: Contrary to the wishes for early peace that formed the theme of almost all officials' new Year's statements, the overwhelming majority of Europeans and Muslims in Algeria do not believe that the fighting between the French and the rebels will end in 1960, it was reported in Algiers

Jan 4: French forces killed 82 rebels and captured 38 during the first two days of 1960, French Army Headquarters announced

Jan. 5 The French government seized copies of 4 newspapers in France and Algeria because they published commentaries on the International Red Cross Committee's recent report on conditions in French prison camps in Algeria which was critical of signs of continued torture and brutality in the prison camps.

Jan 6: French troops killed 121 rebels and captured 40 in Algeria, French military headquarters said

Jan 9: A vigilance movement among Algeria's French settlers stiffened after a series of spectacular

guerilla attacks in Algiers and the vicinity.

Paris Jour stated that Premier Khrushchev was expected to visit the Hassi Mas'ud oilfield on March 20 French officials have refused either to confirm or deny this report

Jan. 12: French authorities in Algiers seized for the second time, the Paris newspaper *Parisien Libéré* on its arrival on account of a communiqué urging formation of "defense groups" throughout Algeria.

Jan 13: Three Paris newspapers, *Le Populaire* (Socialist) *La Croix* (Catholic), and *Information* (financial) were seized on their arrival in Algiers because they contained references to the communiqué of two days ago

Jan 14: It was announced in Paris that President Charles de Gaulle will hold a special conference with the Cabinet Ministers and high civil and military authorities directly concerned with Algeria on January 22

Jan 19: The Algerian Provisional Government announced its reshuffle with the following membership

Prime Minister	Farhat 'Abbas
Deputy Prime Minister	Ahmad bin Balla
Minister of State	Husayn bin Ahmad
Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister	Karim Bilqasim
Minister of State	Rabah Batat
Minister of State	Muhammad Budi'af
Minister of State	Muhammad Khaydar
Minister of State	Sa'id Muhammadi
Social Affairs and Culture	'Abd al-Hamid Mahdi
Armaments and Communications	'Abd al-Hafiz Bussuf
Finance and Economy	Ahmad Francis
Information	Muhammad Yazid
Interior	Akhdar bin Tubal

Jan 21: Major General Jacques Massu was believed to be facing dismissal from his posts as military and civil commander of the Algiers region, it was reported in Paris

Organizations of Right-wing Europeans, known in Algiers as "*ultras*" or "activists," belabored the French government and President de Gaulle in concerted moves to arouse popular opinion and influence decisions of the president in communiqués they issued in Algiers, it was reported in Algiers

Jan 22: A communiqué issued after President de Gaulle met with Cabinet Ministers and other officials connected with the Algerian problem reviewed the results of their action during 1959 and stated that the government "will take without delay the necessary measures to introduce exceptional legal procedures suitable to the circumstances for the more rapid repression of attacks and terrorism." It also announced that President de Gaulle will visit Algeria on February 5 for an inspection tour.

Major General Jacques Massu was dismissed

Right-wing students in Paris staged a miniature version of the Algerian uprising as they barricaded themselves inside the Sorbonne's Faculty of Law in the Latin Quarter

Jan 24. Censorship was put on all news communications in Algeria at the same time that the city was placed under a state of siege

Among the organizations demonstrating in Algiers today was Young Nation, a Fascist, ultranationalist group Its program is the end of the republic, restoration of the empire and dictatorship.

Armed European demonstrators opposed to President de Gaulle's policies clashed with French gendarmes, leaving 19 persons dead and 141 injured

Jan 25: The army command in Algiers was reported to have tanks and armored cars in the outskirts of the city On the insurgent side, newsmen were permitted to join the rebels but not to leave them.

In a special radio broadcast to Algeria, President de Gaulle firmly denounced the outbreaks as a "bad blow against France" in Algeria and declared that "I will do my duty"

It was reported in Paris that France remained outwardly calm amid numerous signs that the population was behind President de Gaulle's efforts to uphold the power of the state

Premier Michel Debré flew to Algiers to take charge of the French government's efforts to restore order

Jan 26 *"Colons,"* members of Right-wing settlers' organizations, paraded and demonstrated in Oran, Bône, Constantine, Sidi Bel Abbes, Blida, Tiaret, Tlemcen and Orléansville. A mob of several thousand in Oran milled in the streets, many of them with weapons

The de Gaulle-Algeria split widened and it was reported that the army seemed to back the insurgents Meanwhile Premier Michel Debré appealed to the people to end the revolt.

Jan. 27: President de Gaulle stood firm on his policy and the French Cabinet was reported to be divided French Delegate General Paul Delouvrier called on Europeans and Muslims to rally to the support of President de Gaulle

Jan. 29: The French army took the first step toward ending the revolt when home guardsmen were ordered to reorganize their companies and subunits at once

The Provisional Government told the Algerian Muslim population to stay aloof from the French in the turmoil in Algeria.

Most of the major French political parties banded together behind President de Gaulle, with the exception of the powerful Right-wing Independent party, whose National Council adopted a motion endorsing the European insurgents in Algeria

President de Gaulle ordered the French army to

restore peace in Algeria when he spoke over television and radio.

Jan. 30: European insurgents continued to defy President de Gaulle's policy when they burst through a cordon of paratroopers in Algiers.

President de Gaulle and his government were reported to be on alert as the dissidence continued.

Jan. 31: Fresh troops from France arrived in Algeria and developments indicated that the insurrection was near collapse.

Feb. 1: The European uprising in Algiers collapsed, with one of its leaders in flight, another facing prosecution and a third "out of sight"

Feb. 2: The French Cabinet called Parliament into session to ask it to give the government power to legislate by decree on the Algerian question.

More than 300 of the European militants in Algiers left the Foreign Legion they had joined and went back home

A bomb believed to have been planted by Muslim nationalists blew up a bus in Constantine injuring seven persons

Feb. 4: An investigation of the insurrection began and a Fascist political leader, an army colonel and a newspaper publisher have been confined, it was learned in Algiers

In Paris, the Senate, by a vote of 225 to 39 completed the granting of sweeping powers to President de Gaulle to enforce his Algerian program and combat subversion

France pressed sanctions against army officers and political organizations in Algiers, 40 officers have been sent to quarters or are being transferred to new posts or sent into retirement, Paul Delouvrier ordered the dissolution of 6 political organizations that had played key roles in the insurrection

Feb 5 Eleven persons including 4 colonels have been arrested and removed from their posts, respectively, as the political house-cleaning in Algiers continued.

The Algerian Provisional Government announced in Tunis the appointment of a general staff to conduct military operations against the French in Algeria It also announced in a communiqué from its headquarters the appointment of a general staff chief, but did not name him

French forces killed 150 Muslim insurgents and captured 65 in Algeria in two days, a French army spokesman announced

Feb 6: Three key Ministers in the French government arrived in Algiers amid reports that they had instructions from President de Gaulle to pave the way for far-reaching reorganization of the army, civil administration and judiciary in Alegria.

Feb. 8: Alain de Sérigny, publisher of *L'Echo d' Alger,* was sent to Barberrousse Prison He was charged with making an attempt on the internal security of the state.

Feb. 9: New appointees took over as attorney general and director of police for Algeria and police commissioner for Algiers Major General Jacques Faure, commander of French forces fighting Muslim nationalists in the mountains of Kabylia, has been removed from his command and ordered to return to Paris while Major Victor Sapin-Lignière, commander of the Algiers Home Guard, was sent to prison

Feb. 10 The Home Guard was abolished.

Feb 11: Algerian nationalist leaders in Tunis view the house-cleaning by President de Gaulle in the French army and among civilians as an essential move toward peace in Algeria

Feb 12 Algerian nationalists reported in Cairo that their troops killed 129 French soldiers and wounded 49 in 4 battles on February 8

The Algerian National Liberation Front will call for peace talks with the French Government next week, but will limit them to "technical" questions about how self-determination is to be applied and how freedom of campaigning and voting in a referendum can be guaranteed, an authoritative source in Tunis said

Feb 13: Three French officers were killed when their unit of Muslim troops were ambushed by a rebel band near Bougie

Feb. 14. President Charles de Gaulle took over direct control of Algerian affairs by setting up a Cabinet committee to deal with policy for Algeria with himself as the head

It was reported in Algiers that the possibility of cease-fire talks has created new tension among Europeans there and high French officials expressed more concern about the attitude of the army than about the possible reaction of conservative Europeans

Feb. 15: Conservative Europeans were gloating over reports that the French army was obstructing the arrest of two leading figures in the insurrection

Feb 16 Three Algerian nationalists were sentenced to death for the murder of an 18-year-old Algerian and the attempted killing of his uncle at Grenoble, France, it was reported in Lyons

Feb 17 President de Gaulle, it was reported, was offended by certain remarks in a statement by the head of the Algerian Provisional Government, particularly with the remark that "without doubt colonial order has been re-established in Algiers"

The Europeans of Algiers described as "propaganda" an invitation by Farhat 'Abbas to rally to the cause of Algerian independence

Feb 18: In an article in *L'Express,* Pierre Mendès-France has urged immediate talks with the Algerian rebels on a "cease-fire and the conditions for applying self-determination" in Algeria.

Feb. 21: Forty-four persons were killed in an earthquake at Melouza and nearly 100 were injured

Feb 22 Rescue teams of the French army dug in the ruins of the villages of Melouza and Beni Illmane in search for more victims of the earthquake.

The French army reported that 493 nationalist rebel fighters were killed and 240 taken prisoner in combat last week.

Feb. 23: The police and army forces looked among European extremists in Algiers for the perpetrators of a bombing attack in which several downtown stores were heavily damaged

Feb. 24: The French police allowed only those with exit permits delivered by local authorities in Algeria to leave the country; travelers with visas issued in France were prevented from boarding planes

Three Algerian nationalist chiefs and a number of Frenchmen suspected of aiding the Muslim rebel movement have been arrested in Paris.

Feb 25: President de Gaulle called on the Algerian rebels to stop fighting and join other Algerians in preparing for self-determination.

Feb. 26: For the third time in 5 days leaflets urging citizens to form "secret cells" and "be ready for action" were found in letter boxes throughout Algiers in an effort by the European extremists to campaign for a second round in their battle against President de Gaulle

Feb 28: Six Muslims, condemned for acts of terrorism, were executed by military firing squads, it was announced

Feb. 29. The Algerian National Liberation Front will send a peace delegation to Paris if President de Gaulle is ready to discuss guarantees of self-determination, Farhat 'Abbas was interpreted to say in Tunis

Mar 2: President Eisenhower was authoritatively reported to have suggested to President Habib Bourguiba that a temporary truce in the Algerian war might serve to get peace talks under way.

Mar. 3: President de Gaulle was reported to have declared that the Algerian problem would not be settled for a long time and that no solution was possible without the final victory of the French army.

Mar. 4. It was reported in Algiers that President de Gaulle had said that he opposed the integration of Algeria and France as strongly as he opposed "secession"

Mar. 5. President de Gaulle predicted in effect that the Algeria of the future would be a separate territory maintaining close ties with France.

Mar 7: President de Gaulle called on the Muslim rebels to join other Algerians in establishing an Algerian polity linked to France

Mar. 10: It was reported in Paris that President de Gaulle's supporters on the political Left and Center are showing signs of disillusionment as a result of his failure to end the Algerian war quickly.

Mar. 12: Leaflets distributed in various parts of Algiers by European extremists continue to assail President de Gaulle despite the stiffening of his policy.

Mar. 14: The Provisional Algerian Government charged that President de Gaulle had "closed the door on negotiation and peace" in the five-year-old Algerian rebellion.

Cyprus

(See also, General, Turkey*)*

1959

Dec. 19: A controversial bill setting forth arrangements for the forthcoming parliamentary election in Cyprus was published. It provides for six multi-member constituencies, Nicosia being the largest, with 12 Greek members and 5 Turkish members. The communities will ballot separately and each citizen will vote for several candidates, according to number of vacancies in his constituency

Dec 29 The deadlocked question of British military bases in Cyprus, agreed upon only in general in the London Convention, was discussed by Zenon Rossides and Governor Sir Hugh Foot in Nicosia.

Dec. 31 The electoral bill was formally enacted by the government

1960

Jan 2 A communiqué released by the Democratic Union Party condemned the electoral law which "deprives a strong section of the people of the right to be represented at the legislative bodies."

Jan. 5: It was officially announced in Nicosia that elections for Cyprus' first House of Representatives would take place February 7 and elections for the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Communal Chambers, February 10

Jan 11 An electoral agreement was reached between Archbishop Makarios' Patriotic Front and the AKEL party whereby the AKEL will be given 5 of 35 Greek seats in the House of Representatives and 3 of 21 seats in the Greek communal chamber in exchange for not contesting the elections for the two chambers

Jan. 13. Archbishop Makarios arrived in London for a ministerial conference on the treaties and agreements under which the colony will become independent

Jan 16 Archbishop Makarios pressed Britain for further cuts in the size of the British military bases when he spoke at a "crash" conference in London to speed up final arrangements for independence.

Lieutenant-General George Grivas said in Athens that Cyprus' adherence to the British Commonwealth should be ruled out as "nationally inadmissible and economically detrimental"

Jan. 18: Independence for Cyprus has been postponed a month because of differences over the size and nature of two military enclaves scheduled to remain under British rule

Jan. 20: It was announced, after Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd expressed confidence that Cyprus would be independent by March 19, that British and Cypriot leaders agreed that the association of Cyprus with the Commonwealth must be left for consideration by the Cypriot House of Representatives after independence

Jan. 25: Informal talks on Cyprus are expected to end, it was learned in London.

Jan. 26: Archbishop Makarios delayed his departure from London to continue his discussions with Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd because, according to diplomats, unless he reached agreement with the British now, the independence of Cyprus might be postponed until late this spring Financial aid was the planned topic for further discussions, it was reported

Jan. 27. The British Army removed a huge teetering rock that had threatened to demolish the village of Karmi

Jan 30 Disagreement on the size of military bases stalemated the London talks and Archbishop Makarios declared on his departure from London that "Cyprus should continue to be a single economic and administrative unit" He described "adherence to this principle" as "essential"

Feb 1· Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd indicated to the House of Commons that Britain had gone as far as possible in her negotiations with Cyprus officials

Feb 3 Archbishop Makarios submitted counter-proposals to the British plan for administration of the two military bases Britain will retain in the island There were no details given, but it is believed that he asked for more specific guarantees only with reference to administration, not to the size of the bases Dr. Fazil Kuchuk expressed agreement to them

Feb. 7 A Communist-inspired protest meeting against British bases in Cyprus held in a village near Dhekelia was boycotted by the Greek Right wing and Turkish Cypriots

Feb 9· The House of Commons met for an emergency debate on the independence issue The government and Labor Opposition clashed over the cause of the deadlock and ways to get the negotiations in gear again The Labor party backed off from plans to force a vote on the issue

Archbishop Makarios said in Nicosia he would take no new initiative to break the deadlock over the British bases

Feb 10 After Labor successfully moved the adjournment of the House of Commons to debate the breakdown of the Cyprus negotiations, the Defense Minister, Mr Watkinson, declared that no more major concessions could be made on the question of the British bases

British Colonial Under-Secretary Julian Amery flew home from Nicosia after his departure earlier in the day was postponed by a series of unscheduled talks with Dr Fazil Kuchuk

Feb. 12. Contrary to the previous offer of only 36 square miles for the bases, it is reported that Cypriot leaders are ready to let Britain have about 80 square miles

The Foreign Office denied that Britain was prepared to accept about 80 square miles instead of 120.

Feb. 14. Authoritative sources said that Archbishop Makarios, Dr. Fazil Kuchuk and Governor Sir Hugh Foot had signed an agreement which provides that Britain will have 80 square miles instead of 120 which will have to be signed by Britain

Feb. 22· Under-Secretary for Colonial Affairs Julian Amery left for Nicosia for further talks.

Feb. 23 A few minutes after Mr. Julian Amery's arrival at the house of the Mayor of Paphos, a bomb was hurled at the house damaging only windows and furniture

Feb. 29 An agreement has been reached by Mr. Julian Amery and Cypriot leaders on the question of training areas for British troops outside their bases.

Mar. 6 Two Turkish delegates to the Constitutional Commission arrived in Nicosia to start work on the Constitution

Mar. 10 Talks on certain issues "specifically reserved for discussion with the representatives of Greece and Turkey" were "successful," a communiqué from Nicosia reported

Ethiopia and the Somalilands

(See also, General, Saudi Arabia)

1959

Dec 18 An agreement between Ethiopia and the USSR provides for the use of a Soviet credit of 400 million rubles and an expansion of export trade between the two countries, it was announced

Dec. 31. Emperor Haile Selassie left for a week's visit to the Sudan and a trip to Saudi Arabia

1960

Jan 17 After a 24-hour visit in Addis Ababa, UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold left for Eritrea to discuss with Emperor Haile Selassie the status of the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia

Jan 29 Emperor Haile Selassie appealed to the leaders of the big powers to keep the governments of lesser powers "fully informed" on their discussions during exchanges of visits and at the coming summit conference

In an interview at his palace, the Emperor said he had offered "full cooperation" to Premier 'Abdallah 'Isa of Somalia which is soon to become independent of UN trusteeship

Feb. 5· Premier 'Abdallah 'Isa pleaded for an end of the "misguided pessimism" about the future of Somalia and sought US, British and Italian financial aid

Feb 28 The Governor of British Somaliland, Sir Douglas Hall, has appointed 4 ministers in the new Legislative Council on the recommendation of the Somali National League. The League won 20 of the 33 elected seats in the elections this month and the Somali party won 12. The other seat went to the National Union Front

Mar. 5 It was reported in Addis Ababa that Emperor Haile Selassie is watching the forthcoming summit conference with great interest because he believes that the fate of small countries is tied up

with the decision of the great powers

Mar 7: Dr. Billy Graham felt briefly ill halfway through a 90-minute meeting with Patriarch Basilios and three bishops of the Ethiopian Coptic church, but he recovered well enough to say he would be able to conduct his first service at Haile Selassie stadium

Mar. 9 Dr. Billy Graham ended his two-day crusade amid heavy rains Ethiopians and hundreds of foreign residents attended the meetings

Iran

(See also, General, Iraq, Jordan and Pakistan)

1959

Dec. 16 Iranian frontier guards have been reinforced along the Iraqi border near the disputed Shatt al-Arab area following a shooting incident Special precautions also have been taken to protect the Abadan oil refinery

Dec 17· The Iranian Majlis accused General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim of adopting an aggressive policy towards Iran after the shooting incident in the disputed border area

Dec 20 Shah Muhammad Riza Pahlevi declared that Iran would defend its "integrity and rights" in the border dispute with Iraq

Dec. 21· Mechanized units of Iranian artillery, armored cars and tanks were sent to the Iraqi border

The Shah took a 21-year-old commoner, Farah Diba, as his third queen in a marriage ceremony in Teheran

Dec 22 The Shah interrupted his honeymoon to confer with his War Minister and other officials as the border dispute worsens

Dec. 25 The Teheran radio attacked General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim as a "Red servant of black imperialism"

Dec 26 One hundred Iraqis were reported to have clashed with Iraqi guards while trying to flee into Iran Four of them were killed along with one guard

Dec. 27: Officials appeared to be soft-pedaling the martial aspects of the border disputes in spite of civilian demonstrations and troop movements from Iranian border points The army chief of information, Colonel Gulbadi, declared that military activities in the area is a result of "routine maneuvers"

The US and Britain have advised Iran to use moderation in dealing with Iraq over the disputed border territory, informed sources announced

Premier Eghbal said at a news conference in Lahore that he did not believe the Soviet Union was behind Iran's current border dispute with Iraq

Dec. 28. Security officials at Abadan said that Iran has converted a section of the border near there into a "military fortress" and while scarcely any military movement can be seen in Abadan and Khorramshahr, high tension prevailed.

Dec. 29· At Rawalpindi, Premier Eghbal said that Iran would fight back with "all her might" and seek assistance from her allies if she were attacked by Iraq

The Iranian Government, confident of its legal position, held open the door to negotiation of the disputed border.

1960

Jan 1: The Shah put before Parliament a bill to reduce the landholdings of absentee landlords and to create a class of peasants and small farmers who will own the soil they till The bill carries the promise of a revolution in the way of life in 40,000 to 50,000 villages

Jan 2 Lawyers for a USAF major imprisoned in Iran for a traffic death a year ago are appealing against his sentence

Jan. 3. Iran alleged that an attempted Iraqi aggression on the border had resulted in the killing of Iranian frontier settlers and the immigration of 9,000 Iranian nationals from Iraq

Iran formally laid claim to half of the Shatt al-Arab, the Foreign Ministry statement asserted

Jan. 8· Queen Farah made her first appearance at a women's movement meeting in Teheran and heard a resolution demanding equal rights for Iranian women

Jan. 11. A clash between several hundred students and policemen in Teheran over high school grades resulted in the injury of 62 persons and the arrest of 100 "troublemakers"

Jan. 12 The Government declared that it would take strong measures against further disorders like the student riot yesterday

Jan. 14 Premier Eghbal, in a speech to the Majlis, charged that the Communists had helped to incite the student riots

Jan 16. Ardeshir Zahedi, son-in-law of the Shah, has been proposed as new Iranian Ambassador to the US, it was reported in Teheran.

Jan. 17. It was reported that while most thoughtful Iranians agree with the vast public works program and a series of reform laws proposed by the Government, the pace of their execution and the lack of able administration hindered their progress

Jan. 19 While the US was praised for the aid she is giving Iran in the reform program, she was also criticized for the slow pace of the reform

Jan. 20· New regulations have been announced relating to four new categories of goods which may only be imported under ICA procurement procedure, as follows a) tires and inner tubes, b) cotton and woolen thread, yarns and materials, c) lorries, jeeps, automobiles up to 1,700 kilos, buses, chassis, engines and spares, and d) iron, cast iron and steel, wires, nails, etc., tin plate, metal pipes, etc.

Jan. 27· The following depths have been reached by the exploration drilling operations SIRIP offshore well, 7,160 ft with last casing at 6,360 ft.; SIRIP well at Sequta in Zagros agreement area,

1,263 ft. with last casing at 298 ft.; IPAC offshore well, 10,206 ft. with last casing at 8,515 ft.

Feb. 7: The Iranian Supreme Court rejected the verdict of a branch of the Criminal Court which had sentenced USAF Major Donald Bourke to jail and granted him a new trial.

Feb. 9: Engineers have just completed pulling a submarine pipeline into place between Ganaweh on the Iranian mainland to Kharg Island. This is the key piece in a new 30-inch pipeline running 100 miles from new oil fields in Gach Saran to a new offshore loading terminal under construction on Kharg Island.

Feb. 14: It was announced in Teheran that the concession granted to the Canadian firm Sapphire Petroleum to explore for oil on the Iranian coast near the straits of Hormuz would be cancelled unless the company drilled its first well within 4 months. The company would also forfeit its deposit of $350,000 in an Iranian bank.

Feb 19: The IBRD approved a loan equivalent to US$42 million to Iran for a multipurpose project on the Dez River for electric power generation, irrigation, and flood control in Khuzistan Province.

Feb. 27: Court authorities denied reports that Queen Farah was expecting a baby.

Mar. 11: General elections based on a two-party system were held The two contesting parties are *Mellyoun* (Nationalists), the majority party led by Dr. Eghbal, and *Mardom* (People) the opposition party, led by Asadallah Alam, a former Minister of the Interior and a wealthy landowner.

Iraq

(See also, General, Iran, Jordan, Persian Gulf, UAR)

1959

Dec. 18: A long procession of peasants, estimated at more than half a million, marched toward the Defense Ministry to pay homage to General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim on his recovery from an assassination attempt

For the first time, an Arab labor union federation, the Iraqi General Federation of Labor Unions, became affiliated to the Communist-sponsored World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague.

Dec. 21: General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim said that he would not resort to force to regain Iraq's rights unless all peaceful methods for solving international issues failed.

Dec. 23: General Qasim warned Iran against building up her forces on the Iraqi frontier and requested her government to "come back to its senses or be beaten by us"

Baghdad Radio introduced a half-hour program called "Voice of United Arabs" directed against the UAR.

The Second Conference of Iraqi Engineers recommended that: crude oil production should be increased; refinery throughput capacity should be expanded with a view to exporting oil products; petrochemical industries should be established as rapidly as possible and natural gas should be used in these industries.

Dec. 24: Ian Colvin, *The Daily Telegraph's* special correspondent, reported from Iraq that General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim's four-year £390,000,000 development plan is causing concern among ministerial officials because of the high cost of the plan in relation to estimated revenues.

Dec. 25: According to the *Ettelaat*, Soviet oil experts began building an offshore drilling platform in the Persian Gulf following the Soviet-Iraqi oil agreement a week ago

Dec 26. Fifty-seven persons were brought before the People's Military Court in Baghdad to face charges of complicity in an October 7 attempt to assassinate General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim In his indictment, Majid Muhammad Amin, the Iraqi prosecutor-general, accused the Shah of Iran, President Nasir and King Husayn, by saying that they were "threatening the Government and people of Iraq"

Dec. 27. Iraq and the Soviet Union signed a technical-training agreement whereby the latter will assist in setting up 10 big centers for training Iraqis in the fields of radio, telecommunications, oil, agriculture, machinery, river transport, electricity, metal sheet cutting, road-building machinery and air communication

Two students testified in the People's Military Court that the plot to assassinate General Qasim was to have been followed by a "liberation army" from the UAR, and that the banned Arab Socialist *Ba'th* party had arranged for the weapons they used

Dec. 28: General Qasim denied reports of Iraqi troop concentrations at Basrah

Dec. 29: Four political parties were reported ready to apply for licenses after January 6 These were the People's Party, National Democratic, Communist and United Kurdish Democratic parties.

In a statement issued by the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Iraq appealed to the world to indict Iran for endangering peace in the Middle East

Dec 31: The law on the interim four-year economic plan which provides for appropriations of I D 391 3 million to cover the cost of the projects to be carried out including I D. 10 million from the Soviet loan of March 1959, was published in the *Official Gazette.*

1960

Jan 3: At the trial of the persons involved in the assassination plot, a prosecution witness pointed to a British subject as the head of a spy ring in Iraq.

Jan. 4. Foreign Minister Hashim Jawad said that Iraq would not attend any Arab League meeting held in the UAR

Jan. 6: Political party life was restored amid the celebration of Army Day.

Jan. 7: General Qasim said that Iraq will not re-

main indifferent to "any oppression against our cousins, the Syrians."

Jan. 8: The Executive Committee of the Basra Oil Workers Union has addressed a petition to General Qasim protesting against government interference in its activities, *Ittihad al-Sha'b* reported.

Jan. 9: The National Democratic Party, Democratic Party for Kurdistan and the Communist Party applied for licenses.

Jan. 10: Baghdad newspapers reported the emergence of a second Communist party called the Iraqi Communist party.

A prosecution witness told the People's Military Court that there was a "reign of terror" in schools and colleges against nationalist students after the abortive revolt in Mosul last March.

Jan. 11: An Iraqi laborer shot two Americans working at an oil terminal in Fao, Iraq

A committee of representatives of the Iraqi oil industry and the planning, foreign and commerce ministeries is discussing a plan for an economic agreement with Czechoslovakia, it was announced

The National Democratic daily *al-Thawra* favored the application of the "Mabda" group, the Iraqi Communist party, for a license

Jan. 12. Ittihad al-Sha'b accused Sayyid Da'ud Sa'igh, editor of the Communist daily *al-Mabda*, of causing the imprisonment of leaders of his group in 1947. This was motivated by the split in the Communist party and the fight of the two groups to gain legal status.

Jan. 13 Ittihad al Sha'b insisted on its demand to *Mabda* leaders to publish the names of the founders and supporters of its group.

Jan 15· Six of the 10 founder signatories of the Sa'igh application for a license have withdrawn their support, *Ittihad al-Sha'b* reported. This means that the party could not be licensed because at least 10 founding members and 50 supporters must sign the application.

Production of oil in Iraqi reached a record of 40 million long tons in 1959, an increase of 17 per cent over 1958, it was reported

Jan. 17· A trade delegation left Baghdad for Tunis to negotiate trade and payments agreements between the two countries.

Jan 18: Al-Thawra questioned the court's silence when a witness abused its editor-owner Sayyid Yunis al-Tai by linking him with one of the leading accused, Faysal Habib al-Khayzaran.

Jan. 19: The leftist-dominated journalists' association condemned *al-Thawra* and demanded that legal action be taken against it

The trial of a sixth group of 10 persons began.

Jan. 21: The Iraqi Director General of Ports has invited international firms to submit bids for the construction of a port at Umm Qasr, south of Basrah, to enable it to handle ships of 30,000 to 40,000 tons.

Jan. 24: The president of the People's Court said he was calling a special session to decide whether Mr. Leslie F. Marsh, a Jamaican British subject, should be treated as an accused or as a witness in the trial of 78 persons for the attempted assassination plot.

In an open letter in *al-Akhbar*, the editor-in-chief criticized the West German Government for buying arms from Israel, letting young Germans join the "criminal" French foreign legion and assisting France to manufacture nuclear bombs. Visiting German press chief, Herr Felix von Eckhardt, denied the accusations.

Jan. 25· The British ambassador in Iraq was stated to press for the release of Mr. Marsh.

The People's Court was told that a plan by army officers was known to the military governor-general, Major-General Ahmad Salah al-'Abdi, and the president of the sovereignty council, General Najib al-Ruba'i

Jan. 26 The British ambassador made "further strong representations" to the Foreign Ministry on behalf of Marsh and also "took up the question of the treatment to which Mr. Marsh as a sick man was subjected"

Colonel Mahdawi, president of the People's Court, opened the proceedings with an attack on "British imperialism"

Jan 30: The Iraqi Oil Workers Union held a reception in Maikulski's honor. Maikulski, the Secretary of the WFOCU was in Iraq to establish "direct personal relations" with the Iraqi Oil Workers Union.

Feb 1 General Qasim gave a flight of Iraqi Air Force jets to the Moroccan Army

Feb 3· At the end of the three-day visit to Iraq, King Muhammad of Morocco decorated Lieutenant-General Najib al-Ruba'i, and General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim with the red and green sash of the Order of the Throne, one of Morocco's highest awards.

A joint communiqué issued in Baghdad and Rabat outlined the following agreements "strengthening the unity of the Arab countries . . . ; adopting a policy to develop the Arab countries . . . ; strengthening the Arab League and seeking to amend its charter on the basis of respect for every member state, supporting all Arab peoples struggling for freedom and independence, particularly Algeria, Palestine and Oman, and Muslim Mauritania , solidarity with all nations under colonial rule which are struggling for freedom; and supporting every effort aimed at easing world tension"

Feb 4. The Beirut daily *al-Sahafah* reported negotiations between IPC and the Iraqi Oil Workers Union in which the union asked the Iraqi authorities not to permit 14,000 oil workers to be deprived of the wage increases just because the government would have to bear half the cost.

Feb. 9· Three Iraqi parties became legal, namely, the National Democratic party, the Democratic party of Kurdistan and the Iraq Communist party.

Feb. 10: General Qasim received Mulla Mustafa al-Barazani and a number of founders of the Kurdish

Democratic party, who thanked him for licensing the party The group was followed by a delegation from the Iraq Communist party

Feb. 11: *Al-Thawra* said that the Communist party, headed by Sayyid Khayri Sa'id was now illegal and must liquidate its secret work which, if continued, would constitute high treason.

Feb. 14: General Qasim praised Soviet-Iraqi friendship when he laid the foundation stone for a new broad gauge railway line between Baghdad and Basrah

Feb 16 Ibrahim Kubbah, Iraqi Minister of Agrarian Reform and Petroleum Affairs, has been relieved of his post 'Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim was appointed in his place as director general of the General Board of Oil Affairs Jamil Thabit succeeds him as director general of the government's Oil Refineries Administration Najib al-Mani' has been named director general of oil products distributing service in the Oil Ministry, and Muhammad al-Dhahir, director general of oil fields

Feb. 17 General Qasim left Baghdad for the first time since July 1958 on an aerial tour of the agricultural areas

Feb. 19 Some diplomats interpret General Qasim's rejection of licensing the Communist party and the dismissal of Ibrahim Kubbah as an assertion of Iraq's independence from international communism, it was reported in Washington

Feb 21: General Qasim received a delegation of the Communist party headed by Da'ud al-Sa'igh They were reported to have pledged support in Iraq's decision to "recover the Palestine state"

Feb. 24 A political party originally called the Communist party was refused a license under the new name *Ittihad al-Sha'b*

Feb 25 Death sentences were meted out to 17 persons accused of complicity in the plot to assassinate General Qasim

Mar 5 Representatives of the Oil Workers and Employees Union, the Iraqi General Federation of Labor Unions, the oil companies operating in Iraq and the Ministries of Social Affairs and Oil jointly declared a wage increase for Iraqi oil workers

Mar 9 Ibrahim Kubbah was threatened to be brought to trial for attacks he made against the Government in the Iraqi Communist daily, *Ittihad al-Sha'b.*

Baghdad radio announced that the IPC had asked the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance to approach the Jordanian Government to claim the sum of about ID 100,000 in payment for oil sold to Jordan during the period before the Iraqi revolution.

Israel

(See also, General, Pal Prob, UAR, Egypt)

1959

Dec. 16: Premier David Ben-Gurion presented his new five-party coalition government to the Knesset. The Cabinet list follows

Premier and Defense Minister	David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Foreign	Mrs. Golda Meir (Mapai)
Finance	Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Education	Zalman Aranne (Mapai)
Commerce and Industry	Pinhas Sapir (Mapai)
Police	Behor Shitreet (Mapai)
Labor	Dr Giora Josephthal (Mapai)
Agriculture	General Moshe Dayan (Mapai)
Interior	Moshe Haim Shapiro (National Religious Front)
Social Welfare	Dr Joseph Burg (National Religious Front)
Health	Israel Barzelai (Mapam)
Development	Mordecai Bentov (Mapam)
Justice	Pinhas Rosen (Progessive)
Communications	Yitzhak Ben-Aharon (Ahdut Avodah)
Religious Affairs	Rabbi Yaakov Moshe Toledano (unaffiliated)
Without Portfolio	Abba Eban (Mapai)

The new government said its basic principles included proposals to be made to Arab states for non-aggression pacts to replace the present armistice agreements and for disarmament in the Middle East to end Arab-Israeli strife

Dec 17: The Knesset approved by 78 to 33 votes the new Cabinet formed by Premier David Ben-Gurion

Dec 18: Yugoslavia and Israel signed a trade agreement providing for exchanges worth $6,300,000 in each direction in 1960.

Three physicians left from Miram Hospital in Providence, R I, to begin a medical exchange with physicians at the Poriah Hospital at Tiberias

Dec. 20: Israel's new Cabinet met to consider the policy on the passage of Israeli goods through the Suez

Dec 23: Thousands of pilgrims and tourists arrived in Jerusalem to celebrate Christmas Eve in Bethlehem

French diplomatic officials in Israel were turned back at the border

Dec 25 The Ghana Government is to become sole owner of the Black Star Shipping Line, hitherto a joint Ghanaian-Israeli enterprise, following an offer by the Zim Shipping Company to sell their 40 per cent share, it was announced in Haifa

Dec. 28: World Zionist leaders convened in Jerusalem to consider a proposal to transform their movement into a world federation of Jewish organizations

Dec 30. Mr Michael Comay, Israel's resident representative at the UN and Mr Yosef Tekoah, his deputy, called on Mr. Andrew Cordier, the executive assistant to the UN Secretary General, to discuss the question of the Greek freighter *Astypalea.*

Dec 31 Ceylon's first minister to Israel presented

his credentials to President Itzhak Ben-Zvi in Jerusalem. He is Sir Godwin Ranasinha, also ambassador to Italy and Greece

The Bank of Israel's balance sheet shows the value of gold and foreign exchange reserves as of today at $123 9 million, an increase of $29 6 million (30 per cent) over the end of 1958. Means of payment increased by slightly over 11 per cent during the year, as against an increase of 15 per cent in 1958

1960

Jan 5· Minister of Justice Pinhas Rosen said in the Knesset that an international conspiracy might be behind the rash of anti-Jewish manifestations

Jan 6 A military spokesman denied a report from Amman that two Israeli jets violated Jordan's air space

Mr A C A Liveran, the Israeli chargé d'affaires in London, in a letter published in *The Times* defended Israel's policy concerning the utilization of the Jordan waters and said that a regional approach to this question had become impossible because of Arab refusal to cooperate

Premier David Ben-Gurion expressed regret in the Knesset that arms deliveries were still flowing from Russia to the UAR and Iraq despite the fact that leaders of the two Arab countries had openly declared their aim to wipe out Israel

Jan 7· The municipal elections in the Israeli sector of Jerusalem were voided by Judge Miriam Ben-Porath because 50 ballots that had not been stamped properly by election officials had not been counted

The US and Israel signed a commodity sales agreement, under which 20 per cent of the sales proceeds, or the Israeli pound equivalent of about $6 million will be made available for loans by the EXIMBANK to private business under the so-called Cooley Amendment, Section 104(e) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (P L 480)

Jan 15 Israel will require a total investment of $750,000,000 for economic development in the next five years, the executive head of the Israel Bond Organization said

The governor of the Bank of Israel predicted in New York that if Israel continued the progress it made-last year it would achieve economic independence in less than ten years

Politics has stymied the election of a new Israeli Chief Rabbinate in view of the fact that there is no longer any chance of holding new elections before February 27, the expiration of the Chief Rabbi's tenure.

Jan. 16· Before 500 delegates at the golden jubilee convention of the Religious Zionists of America at Atlantic City, New Jersey, Moshe Chaim Shapiro said that a "paramount problem" confronting his nation was the "co-existence" of religious and secular political parties

Jan. 17: Mrs. Golda Meir said in Ghana that Israel wanted only friendship in return for economic cooperation with African countries.

The Israel Bond Organization adopted a quota of $75,873,550 in Israel bonds to be sold this year in the US

The growing military strength of the UAR and its reported re-establishment of bases near Israel's borders were discussed by the Israeli Cabinet in Jerusalem

Jan 20 Premier David Ben-Gurion rebuked Israelis who branded Chancellor Adenauer as "Nazi" following anti-Semitic incidents in recent weeks.

Navy officials confirmed in Washington that they had included cancellation clauses in contracts with United States-flag ships to take into account the Arab boycott of Israel

A campaign against the introduction of television in Tel Aviv is under way

Jan 21 The US Navy policy that has tacitly recognized the Arab boycott of Israel has not aroused serious objection by the Israeli Government, shipping industry spokesmen said

A protocol renewing the Franco-Israeli trade agreement of 1953 for another year was signed in Jerusalem

Jan. 25 Israel is drafting an austerity plan which seeks to cover losses anticipated in German reparations and bond receipts.

Jan 28· The Arab boycott of Israel was condemned by the international council of B'nai B'rith, according to the final communiqué of a conference held in Amsterdam

Israel's power grid reached Sodom when high pressure lines of the Palestine Electric Corporation were extended into the desert

Feb 3 An Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Danish owners of the *Inge Toft* had ordered the ship to discharge her cargo and sail because her condition had deteriorated as a result of long anchorage

Feb 6. The UN truce supervisory organization has received an Israel complaint alleging that an Israeli patrol was fired at while on duty on the Syrian-Israel frontier

Feb 7 Two fragments of ancient Biblical scrolls with sixteen verses from the Book of *Exodus* have been discovered by Israeli archaeologists in a Judaean Desert cave near the Dead Sea

Feb. 8: The Israeli police are investigating the disappearance of diamonds worth about $448,000 shipped by merchants to Hong Kong

Feb. 9 An Arab resident in the Gaza strip was sentenced to 20 years on charges of spying for the UAR

Feb. 11 A physics building named for Abraham Lincoln was dedicated on the campus of Bar Ilan University The laboratories were built with an American State Department grant of $70,000

Feb. 15· Finance Minister Levi Eshkol submitted to the Knesset a record budget of £1,574,300,000

Israeli. The $75 million overdraft was geared to expand "several services, including security."

Feb. 16. Mr. Patrick Hancock, British Ambassador to Israel, declared that the British government "did not condone the Arab boycott of Israel" adding that trade figures for 1959 reflected the feelings of the British people.

Feb. 19: Israel's exports increased in real terms during 1959 by 30 per cent and imports of goods and services increased in real terms by 6 5 per cent, and owing to a fall in import prices, their cost rose by 4 per cent.

Feb. 21: The Cabinet empowered the Minister of Religious Affairs to extend the Chief Rabbinate term of office five months beyond its expiration date.

Feb. 22 Premier David Ben-Gurion's government turned down the motions of 3 anti-Socialist and Communist parties in the Knesset to abolish the defense emergency regulations under which military rule is applied in the border regions of Israel

Feb. 24. A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry denied reports of Soviet moves to ease Israeli-Arab tensions which diplomatic sources in Tel Aviv said was the subject of Ambassador Bordov and Mrs Meir's talks.

Feb. 26· A new contract was signed by Kaiser-Frazer with the American Studebaker-Packard Corporation which will supply components of their *Lark* motor cars, station wagons and trucks

Feb. 28. Premier David Ben-Gurion will visit the US next week to accept a doctorate from Brandeis University

Mar. 5 State Department officials in Washington said it was a "safe assumption" that Premier David Ben-Gurion would see President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Herter, although no dates have been fixed

Mar. 7 Premier David Ben-Gurion left Tel Aviv for the US

Mar. 8· American settlers in Israel balked at issuing a call to Jews in the US and Canada to settle in Israel.

Premier Ben-Gurion arrived at Logan International Airport in Boston Diplomatic and Israeli sources say that, in sum, the purpose of his visit to the US is to urge President Eisenhower to use US influence to keep the peace in the Middle East

Mar. 9· Premier Ben-Gurion was greeted by fifty picketing Arab students when he arrived late for a four-day unofficial visit to Washington

Mar. 10: In a two-hour talk with President Eisenhower at the White House, Premier Ben-Gurion told the President that he feared the Soviet Union was building up the UAR's armament to a dangerous level and he expressed hope that an arrangement at the summit might put an end to this build-up.

It was announced that the Premier and Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld will have 3 meetings on March 14.

Mar. 11: Premier Ben-Gurion said in Washington that the West could contribute to the development of the UAR if Cairo would resolve to live in peace with its neighbors He was addressing members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and several other invited Senators.

Mar. 13 Premier Ben-Gurion left for New York after meeting with Secretary of State Herter. He is expected to meet with Chancellor Adenauer at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel

Mar. 14. The Israeli Government was reported to have ordered the managers of the Frederic R. Mann Auditorium to rent it to Dr. Billy Graham for his crusade in Israel.

After meeting with Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, Premier Ben-Gurion declared that he saw a prospect of an end of war in this generation He also met Chancellor Adenauer with whom he talked about German-Jewish relations and world conditions No attempt at negotiations for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries was made.

Jordan

(See also, Iraq)

1959

Dec. 16. Prime Minister Hazza' al-Majali emphasized in the House of Representatives that the East Ghor canal scheme to irrigate 120,000 dunums in the Jordan valley did not affect any refugee rights and had nothing to do with refugee resettlement

Jordan agreed to a request by Saudi Arabia for the postponement of the Arab communications conference until next April instead of December 25

Dec. 17· Khulusi al-Khayri stated that a technical committee would shortly be set up to study possible construction of a TV station to be established with neighboring Arab states

Dec. 19. The Jordanian Government has expressed concern to foreign diplomats in Amman over an Israeli plan to divert water of the Jordan River to irrigate parts of the Negev.

Dec 20· Prime Minister Hazza' al-Majali said the Council of Ministers had approved a transit agreement signed in Damascus earlier this month between representatives of Jordan, Lebanon, the UAR and Saudi Arabia. It was referred to the regency commission for ratification

Dec 22 France was attacked in the House of Representatives when deputies demanded a ban on her exports in protest against her policy in Algeria

Dec. 28 King Husayn was greeted on his arrival after a tour of Europe during which he had talks with British and West German officials on financial and military aid to strengthen Jordan's economy and army

Dec. 31· A spokesman for the Jordanian Refinery Company said that company representatives would

visit Beirut to arrange with Tapline for the supply of crude oil to the refinery from the pipelines crossing Jordan.

1960

Jan 1. King Husayn expressed the view in a BBC television program that communism did not exist in Jordan to an extent sufficient to worry himself or anyone else.

Jan 4: The Jordanian Sugar Company was given a 15-year concession to produce and refine sugar.

Jan 5 A dogfight between a Jordanian fighter plane and two Israeli fighters took place over Jordanian territory, a military spokesman said

The Council of Ministers approved a recommendation by the Foreign Ministry to open honorary consulates in Frankfurt and Munich, West Germany

Jan 6· The second state security court began the trial of 16 men accused of attempting a military *coup d'état*

Jan. 7 The last 15,000-ton shipment of a US wheat and flour grant of 100,000, together with 2,500 tons of American barley will arrive later this month, it was announced in Amman

Jan 8 Khulusi al-Khayri disclosed that Tapline President John Noble is due to visit Jordan at the end of the month to discuss the question of increasing transit royalty payments to the Jordanian government.

Jan 12· Hazza' al-Majali declared in the House of Representatives that there was no longer an Arab Higher Committee or any other organization which could claim the right to speak on behalf of the Palestinian Arabs because the Jordanian government represented the overwhelming majority.

A provisional bill to distribute land in the East Ghor canal area to inhabitants at a minimum of 30 dunums and a maximum of 500 dunums a family was adopted by the House of Representatives

Jan 13 Matthew Wordsworth of the British Middle East office arrived in Jordan for a week's visit to discuss the basis of cooperative lending. The government is preparing an application for a loan of 10 million dollars for the Agricultural Loans Organization.

Jan 14· Large swarms of red flying locusts have been coming from Saudi Arabia in various places in Jordan, the Ministry of Agriculture said.

The Foreign Minister, Husayn al-'Uwayni, announced the scheme of the Lebanese government to divert the river Hasbani into the Litani instead of into the Jordan and said that it was a counteraction to Israel's intention to divert the waters of the Jordan to irrigate the Negev.

Jan. 17: King Husayn criticized Arab leaders for what he called their "irresponsible approach" to the Palestine problem. He said they were using Palestine Arab refugees as "pawns for selfish political objectives."

Jan. 18: The House of Notables unanimously approved the amendment of article 68 of the constitution to authorize the King to extend the life of parliament for one or two years.

The UNRWA has earmarked $300,000 for individual refugee projects in Jordan, Khulusi al-Khayri announced.

Jan. 20· King Husayn opened a new bridge on the river Jordan, built by the army engineering corps in the Ghor Damieh area.

Jan. 24· The Chamber of Deputies unanimously approved the amendment of article 68 of the constitution empowering the King to extend the term of parliament to a period not less than a year and not more than two years after the expiry of its term

Jan. 26: King Muhammad V of Morocco arrived in Amman for a four-day official visit to Jordan.

Jan. 27. A state security court, sitting in closed session at the request of the accused, began trial of 17 army officers and civilians accused of plotting to overthrow the government in 1957 and 1958.

Jan 28. The Jordanian Vegetable Oil Company signed a seven-year agreement with the Dutch Zwerver margarine company which authorizes the latter to supervise technically and administratively the factory of the Jordanian company and to market its products locally and abroad in return for an agreed proportion of the profits

Jan 31 Khulusi al-Khayri announced in Amman that Tapline has agreed to supply the Jordanian Refinery with about 300,000 tons of crude oil per year The oil will be drawn from the company's pipeline crossing Jordan at a point about 42 kms. from Zarqa, north of Amman

Feb. 1. Jordan received $4,100,000 as the sixth instalment of the $40,500,000 of US budgetary aid.

Thirteen men were sent to prison on charges of being members of the Communist party, the second state security court announced

Feb. 7. The Ministry of Education said it had drawn up, in cooperation with Mr G E Perrin, professor of education at Manchester University, a detailed program for training courses for teachers of English at government schools in Jordan

Feb. 8. Piloting his own plane, King Husayn arrived in Riyadh for two days of talks with King Sa'ud.

The ban on Dr Billy Graham's entry into Jordan was lifted, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Feb. 14: The development board prepared projects to be presented to West German officials when an economic delegation visits West Germany next month. These are. regular prospecting for minerals; a hydrological survey of the Azraq river; building a large potash factory and a bromine factory, building tourist hotels and seeking credits up to $2 million to lend to owners of existing hotels, and pooling power stations

An announcement was made of the projected five-month official visit of Crown Prince Muhammad to the US, Canada, Britain, West Germany and Spain on February 25.

Feb. 15: Colonel Mahmud al-Rawsan, former minister in Washington, was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment on a charge of plotting to overthrow the monarchy by armed military coup in connivance with "foreign countries"

Feb. 18: UNESCO has made a grant of $104,000 to Jordan's Education Ministry as aid for 1961 and 1962. It was disclosed too that UNESCO had expressed its readiness to assist in the establishment of an engineering college by supplying teachers and grants for equipment.

Feb. 21 The state security court sentenced 12 Jordanians to prison terms of 3 to 15 years for membership in the illegal Communist party.

Federal Germany has decided to grant 200 million marks to Jordan for its industrial program, it was learned in Berlin

Feb. 22 Dr George Kahale, director of the UN regional office for social affairs arrived in Amman to discuss the broad lines of a social study to be carried out in Amman starting March 20

A communication from the Development Board to the West German government revealed that Jordan has asked West Germany for technical and financial aid to carry out irrigation, industrial, touristic and geological survey projects

Feb 25 Crown Prince Muhammad left for the US

Mar 1: The US deposited $4 million in the seventh and last installment of budget aid to Jordan for the 1959-60 fiscal year

Mar 3 A Jordanian-Japanese agreement which would improve trade, particularly exports of Jordanian phosphate, was concluded

A team of divers from the Christian Approach Society began underwater search in the Dead Sea for the lost Biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Mar 4 It was announced that King Husayn will make a state visit to Iran next month at the invitation of the Shah

Mar. 5 The Ministry of Agriculture received reports on locust egg laying in an area of 31,500 dunums in Ajloun The ministery estimated the total infected area in the district so far at about 179,060 dunums

Premier Hazza' al-Majali reviewed with Musa Nasir the results of the recent Arab League meetings before presenting them to King Husayn.

Mar 7: Hazza' al-Majali received Signor Pier Spinelli, the UN ambassador to the Middle East and they discussed "certain affairs concerning the UN mission in Amman"

Mar 9: Two specialists of the WHO arrived in Amman to help the Ministry of Health in establishing the extent of tuberculosis in the country.

Mar. 12. A joint Jordanian-Lebanese committee awarded the British Standard Telephones and Cables Company a contract for supplying and installing equipment to be used in radio-telephone communications between the two countries.

Mar. 14. Dr. Billy Graham arrived in Jerusalem on his first visit to the Holy Land

Kashmir

1960

Jan. 22: With reference to the Indian letter of October 12 regarding Kashmir, Pakistan sent a letter to the President of the Security Council (Doc S/4259) which said in part that "any move made by the Government of India, by whatever manner of means, which has the effect of integrating any part of Jammu and Kashmir with the administrative, economic, judicial or political setup of India itself is a contravention of India's commitment that she shall enable the people of Jammu and Kashmir to give their unfettered verdict whether or not they wish to remain a part of India or to join Pakistan"

Jan 25: A further step toward the integration of Kashmir with the rest of India was taken when an order by President Prasad took effect whereby the jurisdiction of India's Supreme Court would be extended to Kashmir

Jan 28 Jammu and Kashmir will begin a road-building program to connect Srinagar with the distant borders of eastern Ladakh, it was announced in New Delhi

Feb. 7 Kashmir's ruling National Conference condemned Red China's "unprovoked aggression" against India and its occupation of territories in Ladakh and the North East Frontier Agency

Feb. 19 The Indian Government launched inquiries into reports from Jammu that Communist Chinese troops had taken over salt mines in the southern Ladakh region of Kashmir

Lebanon

(See also, Libya)

1959

Dec 16 Husayn al-'Uwayni threatened to resign from the Cabinet in a protest against a decision of the Council of Ministers on the long-promised purge of government staff It was reported by government sources that the council did not act on his desire that some officials of the Foreign Ministry, now in the administrative department, should be transferred to the diplomatic corps

Middle East Airlines has agreed to seek the technical advice of BOAC experts before finally choosing the aircraft type to re-equip its fleet, it was announced

Dec. 17. Premier Rashid Karami presided over the opening of the Casino du Liban, said to be the biggest gambling casino in the eastern Mediterranean

Dec 19. President Fu'ad Shihab refused to accept Husayn al-'Uwayni's resignation and agreed to the latter's request to take 10 to 15 days sick leave at Luxor, Egypt

Dartmouth College announced the appointment of Dr Charles H Malik as visiting professor for the winter and spring terms of this academic year

Dec. 22: *Al-Jarida* analysed the high cost of living in Beirut and suggested that the principal cause of high prices was too many middlemen with a lust for profits that could only be curbed by price controls

At a meeting of Lebanese labor union representatives in Tripoli the President of the Federation of Labor Unions of Northern Lebanon told the delegates that IPC had decided to reemploy 23 of the dismissed employees, part of the group that went on a hunger strike

Dec 29· The Beirut press quoted an official source as saying that the government was preparing to resume negotiations on oil transit royalties with Tapline

1960

Jan 5· Husayn al-'Uwayni returned to Beirut after a fortnight at Luxor and Cairo and reported that he had discussed with President Nasir Arab affairs and other questions of common interest to Lebanon and the UAR

Jan 6: The Council of Ministers decided "in principle" to raise the membership of the chamber from 66 to 88

Jan 7 The Chamber of Deputies met for the first time in its current session which opened last week to discuss the budget for 1960 and other urgent matters

Jan. 8· The president of the International Court of Justice has fixed January 10 as the time limit within which the French government can submit a written statement of its observations and submissions on Lebanese preliminary objections to an application by France alleging "unilateral alteration" by Lebanon of certain tax facilities of French companies, a court announcement said

Muhammad Sabra, Lebanese ambassador to Jordan, had meetings with President Fu'ad Shihab, Sayyid Husayn al-'Uwayni, and Dr Fu'ad Ammun regarding Arab affairs and the forthcoming changes in the foreign service

Jan 11: An Oil Industry Exhibit organized by the Commerce Society of the American University of Beirut was officially opened at the West Hall of the university

Jan 14· The Prime Minister, Rashid Karami, presented Lebanon's 1960 budget to the Chamber of Deputies amounting to LL220 million compared with 205 million last year

Jan 15: Lebanon has decided to divert the river Hasbani short of the Israeli frontier as a counter to Israel's intention to divert the waters of the Jordan, Husayn al-'Uwayni announced.

Jan 16. The Council of Ministers decided to increase the number of members of the next Chamber of Deputies by 33 to 99. Division of constituencies is still under consideration, a ministerial source reported

Jan. 19· The Lebanese Government will divert the course of the river Hasbani "whatever the consequences might be," Husayn al-'Uwayni told members of the foreign affairs committee of the Chamber of Deputies

Jan 23: Employees of the Mobil Oil Company in Lebanon went on strike for ten hours in protest against the company's refusal to grant them a 6 per cent increase in salary but was suspended for a month pending a settlement of the dispute

Jan. 26· An agreement under which Middle East Airlines will take delivery of four *Comet* 4C's within the next year and have an option on a fifth was signed by Shaykh Najib 'Alam al-din, chairman of the Middle East Airlines, in London

Jan 27: President Fu'ad Shihab accepted President Habib Bourguiba's invitation to visit Tunisia.

Jan. 29· The budget for 1960 was approved by the Chamber of Deputies

Feb 1: There is a strong inclination to establish diplomatic representation between Lebanon and Libya, it was officially stated

Feb 2· An official source said that the foreign ministry had decided to instruct Lebanese diplomatic missions in Latin America to cooperate with a UAR diplomatic mission which is to visit that part of the world shortly

Feb 3· A joint Anglo-Lebanese banking venture will be inaugurated on March 1, it was confirmed in London by a spokesman of the Lombard banking agency

King Muhammad V of Morocco arrived in Beirut for a four-day visit

Feb. 6 Several Beirut dailies indicated that informal consultations have been going on with Tapline with the object of persuading the company to conclude a unilateral transit royalty agreement with Lebanon along much the same lines as those of the IPC agreement of last year

Feb 8 An official denial was made of a statement attributed to Prime Minister Rashid Karami about Lebanese "mediation" between Israel and her neighbors

Feb. 9 Thirty-four of the 66 members of the Chamber of Deputies submitted a petition to the speaker demanding a one-month special session to discuss urgent foreign affairs questions and domestic legislation

Feb 11: Tapline President John Noble paid a courtesy visit to Prime Minister Rashid Karami

It was reported that the Council of the Federation of United Labor Unions in Lebanon had met and decided to back the Mobil Oil Employees Union's demand for reversal of the Mobil management's desire to deduct one day's pay out of the employees' salaries

Feb. 12. An agreement was signed in Washington by which the US Development Loan Fund will lend $500,000 to a privately owned utility company in Beirut to aid in the reconstruction of a power plant which was damaged during the disturbances of 1958

Feb. 15· Sa'id Taqi al-din, well-known writer and member of the Social Nationalist party, died of heart failure in Colombia.

Feb. 17: The Council of Ministers has decided to adopt secret voting in the forthcoming parliamentary elections, a cabinet source said.

Three locust swarms entered Lebanon from Israel in the last two days, Fu'ad Najjar, Minister of Agriculture, said

Feb. 19: Two newspapermen of the leading Arabic daily *al-Nahar* were sentenced to 6 months imprisonment for writing and publishing an article criticizing President Fu'ad Shihab.

Feb. 23: A locust swarm 7km long and 2km wide entered Lebanon and anti-locust teams went into action.

Mar. 1: Rashid Karami's government won the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies by 39 to 3 votes Twenty-four members were absent

Mar. 3: The Council of Ministers completed consideration of the new electoral bill and referred it to the Chamber of Deputies.

Mar. 4: Negotiations to end the ten-day-old strike of 1,450 employees and workers of the government's electricity and common transport service failed.

Mar. 5 The government decided to make an initial donation of LL 100,000 to earthquake victims in Agadir and sent a team of doctors and nurses.

Mar. 7 The army command said it could deport or prosecute any refugee of any nationality belonging to political parties or carrying out political activities or belonging to trade unions in Lebanon.

Mar. 9 The parliamentary judiciary and administrative committee returned the government's draft election law bill to the Chamber of Deputies

Mar. 11: The strike of Beirut electricity and public transport workers ended

Dr Fu'ad Ammun denied foreign radio broadcasts that Foreign Minister Husayn al-'Uwayni had resigned

Mar 13: It was learned that the Council of Ministers has discussed the allocation of Lebanon's accumulated oil transit royalties from IPC, amounting to LL51,000,000, for development projects and that a draft law authorizing the employment of the oil royalties in these projects is under preparation

Libya

(See also, Lebanon)

1959

Dec. 23: The American Overseas Company struck oil at Beda well No. 2 in its Syrtica concession in Northwest Cyrenaica at the rate of 660 BPD.

Dec 31 A royal decree accepted the resignation of Abu Bakr Na'amah as Minister of Education and appointed him governor of Tripolitania in succession to Tahar Bakir, who has been transferred to the Foreign Ministry.

1960

Feb 2: Members of Parliament have demanded breaking all ties with France as a protest against the planned atomic bomb tests in the Sahara.

Feb. 15: The Libyan Prime Minister spoke in the National Assembly and declared that, in view of the oil discoveries last year, a new and more independent basis has been laid for government revenues.

In a speech at the opening of the third parliament 'Abd al-Majid Kubar, Libyan Prime Minister, said that Libya would strengthen the army and was creating the nucleus of an air force.

Feb. 21: The Beirut weekly *al-Ahad* published a letter from a correspondent in Libya warning prospective Lebanese job-seekers in Libya that there is now only room for people with professional qualifications. *Al-Jaridah,* on the other hand, called Libya a "second Kuwayt" and was most enthusiastic about the opportunities for Lebanese businessmen in Libya

Morocco

(See also, General, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine Problem)

1959

Dec 17. Security forces were alerted to prevent disorders as tension increased between King Muhammad V and the labor-supported National Union of Popular Forces

Dec. 18 Urged by his friends and opponents to resign because of the arrest of his main supporters, Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim appeared to be determined to avoid a government crisis at least until after President Eisenhower's visit, it was reported in Rabat

Dec 22 President Eisenhower arrived in Morocco and met with King Muhammad At his departure a joint communiqué was issued announcing that the US military forces would be withdrawn from Morocco by the end of 1963

Dec. 29 King Muhammad V and Cardinal Spellman had a forty-minute conversation in Rabat about peace, liberty, Algeria and Moroccan-American friendship.

Dec. 30 Two French prisoners were freed by a representative of the Algerian National Liberation Front and were turned over to the French Embassy in Rabat

1960

Jan 4 The US and Morocco have concluded an agreement under which the VOA transmitter will be able to operate in Tangier until 1963

Jan. 5 The body of a girl found in a sack near Tangier on December 13 was officially identified as that of Barbara H Mueller, a 19-year-old New York co-ed

Jan 6 France raised objections to the US-Moroccan agreement for the use of the VOA transmitter in Tangier on the grounds that the agreement prohibited use of VOA transmitters by third parties and thus put an end to an arrangement under which the French had the right to transmit pro-

grams three hours a day over VOA transmitters in Tangier.

Jan 7: King Muhammad V turned over the regency of his kingdom to Crown Prince Mawlay Hasan and left for a month-long visit to the Arab countries of the Middle East.

State Department officials said that France did not make any formal protests against the VOA transmitter agreement in Morocco.

Jan 10: It was announced that the US will turn over the air base at Ben Slimane to the Moroccans by the end of March.

The Istiqlal party at Casablanca adopted a resolution "deploring" the failure of the government to give Algerian nationalists sufficient "moral and material" aid

Jan 13. The budget for 1960 amounting to 1,483,300,000 *dirhams* indicated that the government has increased expenditures on health and education.

Jan. 15: After a special reconaissance flight, a US Navy plane reported that a three-to-four-foot wall of water was rushing down the Sebou River toward the Rharb, Morocco's Atlantic coastal plain

Jan 19: Food parcels to victims of floods in the Rharb coastal plain were distributed by a USN helicopter and the Moroccan army Damage in the area was estimated at more than $5 million

Jan 24: The Moroccan government appealed to the UN Secretary General to urge France to delay her forth-coming atomic tests in the Sahara

Jan 26: The outlook for economic cooperation in Africa under UN sponsorship was marred by a heated debate, in the beginning of the second economic session in Tangier, on whether the French delegate had the right to speak in the name of "France and the Community"

Jan 28: Air and rail traffic between Oujda and Algiers were suspended on account of the insurrection in Algeria

Jan. 29: Protesting against French plans for an atomic explosion in the Sahara, Moroccans throughout the country gathered in the mosques to say "*latif*", the prayer for Allah's mercy

Feb. 4: In Tangier, the UN Economic Commission for Africa approved a resolution for increased technical training in Africa

Feb. 6. At the conclusion of the UN Economic Mission for Africa meeting in Tangier, a report to the Economic and Social Council displayed a firm determination to undertake concerted action to raise living standards.

Feb. 7: King Muhammad V returned to Rabat.

Feb 9: The Moroccan Appeals Court at Rabat ordered the dissolution of the Communist party.

Feb. 12: Morocco disputed France's right to sites that will be abandoned by the US when evacuation was begun at Ben Slimane

Feb 21: Sixty thousand Moroccans marched in front of the French consulate general in Casablanca to protest French atomic tests in the Sahara detonated on February 13.

Feb. 23: Ninety-two per cent of the eligible voters had registered for Morocco's first nation-wide elections to be held in May, the Ministry of Interior said.

Feb. 27: The alliance between conservative quarters close to the palace and progressive trade unionists and former members of the anti-French resistance, is reported to be in a state of crisis. It is feared that plot charges to assassinate Crown Prince Mawlay Hasan may force Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim's resignation

Mar. 1. Two earthquakes, a tidal wave and fire left Agadir a vast heap of rubble with an estimated death toll of 1,000.

King Muhammad V presided at a Cabinet meeting in Rabat which decided that Agadir should be rebuilt as soon as possible.

Mar 2 The Moroccan government called for the mobilization of the entire nation to bring relief funds to thousands of Moroccans and Frenchmen made homeless in Agadir. The government estimated that the death toll would reach 7,000 by the time all the victims had been found.

Mar. 3: Fear of an epidemic resulting from the disaster at Agadir prompted officials to use DDT spray as search for missing persons continued

Mar 4 Prince Mawlay Hasan was quoted to say that his father will pledge his personal fortune as collateral for a loan to start the rebuilding of Agadir

Mar 5: It was announced in Rabat that the Moroccan government expects to spend 50 billion francs to rebuild Agadir The army in the meanwhile has isolated the city, permitting only members of digging teams to enter.

Mar. 6: Two miles off Agadir the sea was reported to be boiling and sending up clouds of steam giving rise to the speculation that an underwater volcano was forming.

The USAF evacuated one of its strategic bases in Rabat without ceremony and fanfare

Mar. 7: Reports of undersea disturbances were branded "science fiction" in Rabat.

Mar. 8: It has been estimated that up to 12,000 persons lost their lives in Agadir, it was reported in Rabat Two more survivors were found 8 days afterwards

Mar 9: Three more Moroccans were rescued from the Agadir ruins.

Mar 10: The US air bases in Rabat will begin a systematic dismissal of local civilian personnel beginning April 1, it was learned in Rabat.

Ten more survivors were rescued in Agadir A violent rainstorm beat on the city, delaying rescue operations and damaging belongings of refugees still camped in the open.

Mar. 12: A spokesman for the Royal Palace charged that the French press was turning the Agadir earthquake into a "political affair," when reports reached the palace that French newspapers criticized the Agadir relief operations.

A Moroccan was rescued from the ruins 11 days

after the earthquake.

Police arrested 13 fishermen on charges of looting stores in Agadir

Pakistan

(See also, General, Afghanistan, Iran, Kashmir)

1959

Dec. 16: President Ayub Khan declared that the Constitution Commission would be appointed by the end of March 1960

Dec. 18: IBRD experts visiting Pakistan approved a plan for replacement works to be constructed in West Pakistan

The Scientific Commission of Pakistan concluded its deliberations in Karachi

Dec 19 President Ayub Khan explained the pattern of Pakistan's future Constitution at Sheikhupuga in the course of his tour of villages. He disclosed some of the provisions he had in mind for the Constitution, namely, a strong central government that delegates its powers to the provinces, a President and National Assembly elected by the people's representatives in village councils, and the gradual elimination of nominated members from the village councils once they prove to function properly

A Government-appointed education commission has recommended that English should continue to be taught in all educational institutions in Pakistan, President Ayub Khan told a public meeting at Sargodha

Dec 21 The President concluded the 1500-mile Basic Democracies tour of West Pakistan

Dec. 22 The Ford Foundation issued a $600,000 grant to the government of Pakistan for two pilot centers, one in West Pakistan and one in East Pakistan, which will develop and demonstrate efficient small industries based on rural resources and skills. Following an earlier grant to the Stanford Research Institute to help plan the centers, the new grant will continue Stanford's advisory services and provide equipment and training for Pakistani staff members

Dec. 24 The Prime Minister of Iran, Dr Eghbal, arrived in Karachi on a six-day official visit to Pakistan.

Dec. 25: On the occasion of Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah's birthday, President Ayub Khan declared that Pakistan and India could not settle the future of Kashmir without consulting the people of that state

Dec. 28: The seventeenth conference of the UNESCO was opened in Karachi by Pakistan's Education Minister, Habibur Rahman The long-term objective is to organize concerted action to introduce compulsory primary education in Southeast Asian countries

Reports from the Pakistani Afghan border at Chaman say that discontent with anti-religious measures by the Kabul Government has spread to Kandahar where fifty demonstrators were killed and about 150 were injured by troops. Later reports said about a thousand demonstrators had marched through Kandahar's streets in response to a Muslim sermon to launch a *jihad* against the anti-religious measures

Dec. 29: The Import Policy for the first half of 1960 which aims to increase production and to provide larger supplies of consumer goods in the market was announced in Rawalpindi

A Pakistan-built tug, *Saljuq*, was launched

Dec. 30: In a radio broadcast at Rawalpindi, President Ayub Khan announced Pakistan's second five-year plan starting next July which would cost nearly 4 billion dollars It calls for a 20 per cent increase in food production and a 50 per cent increase in industrial production He also stressed the need for birth control as a measure toward Pakistan's national prosperity

1960

Jan 3 The first batch of East Pakistani farmers to be settled in Ghulam Muhammad Barrage area arrived in Karachi

Officials at Rawalpindi reported that an avalanche in 13,000-foot-high Lowari Pass on December 16 killed 48 persons

Jan. 7 A reshuffle in the Cabinet was announced and the following is the new allocation

Rehabilitation and Works, Food, Agriculture and Irrigation	Muhammad Azam Khan
Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations . . .	. . Manzur Qadir
Health, Labor and Social Welfare ..	W A Burki
Law .	Muhammad Ibrahim
Interior	Lt-General K M Sheikh
Finance	M Shoaib
Industries and Power .	A K. Khan
Railways and Communications (including Shipping)	F M Khan
Education	Habibur Rahman
Information and Broadcasting, National Reconstruction Village-AID, Basic Democracies, Tourism and Minorities	Z A Bhutto
Commerce .	Muhammad Hafizur Rahman

Defense continues to be with the President

President Ayub Khan accepted the recommendation of his Cabinet that he should seek a vote of confidence from the people's 80,000 representatives elected to Basic Democracies. An affirmative vote will be "deemed to have elected" him as the President for the first term of office under the proposed Constitution

Jan 10 The Afghan Foreign Minister, Muhammad Na'im, arrived in Rawalpindi for talks that are considered likely to have a strong bearing on the pattern of defense for the Indian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean

Another important phase of the Warsak multipurpose project was completed when the 3½-mile long Warsak irrigation tunnel was opened.

Jan. 11: Four out of 5 disputes over the boundaries between India and Pakistan were settled, a joint communiqué stated.

Jan 15: The PICIC signed an agreement for a $10,000,000 loan from the US Development Loan Fund

Jan 16: It was reported that Pakistan is preparing to open a campaign for population control as a measure to prevent the increase in population from unbalancing the Government's new five-year "austerity for prosperity" plan A National Family Planning Council has been set up

Jan 21 President Ayub Khan arrived in Dacca for an eight-day tour of East Pakistan There, he was conferred a degree of Doctor of Laws *(Honoris Causa)*, by the Dacca University

Jan. 24: Foreign Minister Manzur Qadir challenged a contention that Pakistan had violated UN rules in barring an Israeli observer from a proposed meeting in Karachi of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East Because of this, Secretary Dag Hammarskjold changed the place of the meeting from Karachi to Bangkok, Thailand

Jan 28 Muhammad Shoaib, Minister of Finance, and William Rountree, US Ambassador to Pakistan, signed in Dacca an agreement providing for the purchase of 350,000 tons of American wheat by the Government of Pakistan

Jan 29: President Ayub Khan concluded his eight-day meet-the-people tour of East Pakistan

Feb 1 The first Agricultural Census in East Pakistan began

Feb 3 Following talks with a Yugoslav trade mission led by Milos Lalovic, a trade agreement to replace the out of date 1954 trade agreement was signed

Feb 9: Speaking at the opening of a four-day seminar in Lahore, Minister for the Interior Khalid M Sheikh warned members of SEATO that communist subversion had temporarily replaced the technique of revolt in the battle for Asian minds.

Feb 10 A juridical tribunal ordered 5 former Cabinet Ministers to stand trial on charges of corruption, bribery, misconduct and misappropriation of public funds or to retire from public life until December 31, 1966

Feb 14 President Ayub Khan received a nearly unanimous vote of confidence from 80,000 electors, preliminary results of the referendum showed

Feb 15 Final results of the referendum indicated that 95 62 per cent of the electorate had voted confidence in the President

Feb 16 Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano of West Germany arrived in Pakistan for an hour-long talk with President Ayub Khan on political, industrial, and economic matters

Feb 17: President Ayub Khan announced the formation of an eleven-man commission to frame a new constitution. He was also sworn in as elected President

Feb 19: A severe earthquake rocked the entire northern district of West Pakistan

Feb. 20: President Celal Bayar of Turkey, accompanied by Foreign Minister Zorlu, arrived in Karachi for a seven-day visit.

Feb. 23: The Shah of Iran and Empress Farah, accompanied by President Ayub Khan, arrived in Lahore. Official sources indicated there would be talks on strengthening military ties between Pakistan, Iran and Turkey

Feb. 24: Pakistan's new capital to be built near Rawalpindi will be called Islamabad (place inhabited by followers of Islam), the Cabinet decided

Former Defense Minister Muhammad Ayub Khuhro was acquitted of cheating the Government in evading import restrictions in the purchase of an automobile

Mar 1: The IBRD announced that negotiations for the conclusion of a water treaty between India and Pakistan in settlement of the Indus waters question are being held in Washington

Mar 2: The Cabinet decided that as from January 1, 1961, Pakistan is to introduce the decimal coinage system, and that the metric system of weights and measures will gradually replace the British weights and measures soon thereafter

Mar 3 Premier Khrushchev sent his "best wishes" to President Ayub Khan while flying over Pakistan from Calcutta to Kabul The President reciprocated the sentiments

Mar. 7 Pakistan called on the Afghan Government either to abandon its anti-Pakistan propaganda or agree to a Pakistani proposal for a referendum among the Pathans in Afghanistan

Palestine Problem

(*See also,* Israel, Jordan, UAR)

1959

Dec 16. Mr Joseph Grimond, British Liberal leader, asked the House of Commons whether the British Government would offer its services in negotiating a settlement of Arab refugees in view of Israel's reported willingness to negotiate such a settlement through an intermediary The British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs passed the responsibility back to the UN

Dec. 23 The Jordanian Prime Minister, Sayyid Hazza' al-Majali, received a delegation of Palestine refugees and they declared that they supported Jordan's policy towards refugees. They also denounced General Qasim's call for a Palestinian state

Dec 26 Three Arabs were killed in an encounter between "infiltrators" from the Gaza strip and an Israeli army patrol in the northern Negev, army headquarters in Tel Aviv reported

1960

Jan. 2 An UNRWA spokesman said there were 421,536 Palestine refugees in Jordan receiving full rations in addition to 16,280 front-line villagers on

half rations and 112,402 children covered by UNRWA services but not receiving rations.

General Qasim repeated his call for the creation of a Palestinian state in an address to students.

Jan. 4: A national union for Palestine refugees in Syria like that established in the Gaza strip is being considered by UAR officials.

Jan. 11: The UAR has protested to the UN Mixed Armistice Commission that 8 Israeli planes committed an air space violation over Dayr al-Balah.

Jan. 14: In a closed session the Foreign Relations Committee of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies has recommended that "positive" steps must be taken to solve the refugee problem *Al-Amal,* organ of Pierre Jumayyil's *al-Kata'ib* called for the settlement of the refugees in the Arab countries because the Arab countries can neither declare war against Israel nor agree on a positive solution.

Jan. 19: John H Davis, Director of the UNRWA for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, announced the appointment of John Reddaway as Deputy Director of the Agency He will succeed the late Leslie J Carver

Jan. 21: The Minister of National Guidance of the UAR has signed an order banning movies in which Eartha Kitt and Edward G Robinson take part because "they have shown pronounced pro-Israeli sympathies and have helped collect donations for Israel"

Jan. 24 Actor Yul Brynner visited a number of Palestinian refugee camps in the Jericho area as part of his Middle Eastern and European tour as special representative of the UN High Commission for Refugees

Jan 30· In a joint communiqué, King Husayn of Jordan and King Muhammad of Morocco upheld Arab rights in Palestine and supported self-determination for the Algerians.

Truce supervision officers of the UN halted fighting between Israeli and Syrian forces in the demilitarized zone

Feb 1· Israeli and Syrian forces clashed once more in the demilitarized zone in what was described as "the biggest military action since the Israeli Army routed the Egyptians from the Sinai Peninsula in 1956"

Feb. 2: *Al-Ahram* reported that the Egyptian Second Army was massed on the Egyptian-Israeli borders in the Sinai Peninsula awaiting orders to engage Israeli forces

It was reported in Tel Aviv by Israeli sources that UN authorities have asked the UAR for the immediate withdrawal of armed forces from the demilitarized zone.

Feb. 4. Fighting between Israel and Syria spread to a new area near Shear Yashuv, and Ogden Reid, US Ambassador, called on Mrs. Golda Meir to urge her to restrain her countrymen lest the situation develop into a more serious one

Feb. 5: Major General Haim Laskov, Chief of Staff of Israel's armed forces, warned that further disturbance of Israel's frontiers "would be met with stern reprisal"

Feb. 7: Of 1,369,000 Jewish refugees permanently resettled since the United Jewish Appeal was formed in 1939, 1,044,000 went to Palestine, the organization announced at the start of the 1960 appeal for funds at Miami Beach, Florida.

Feb. 10: A joint statement issued in Amman and Riyadh at the end of King Husayn's visit to King Sa'ud announced the two kings' complete support for the rights of Arabs in Israel

Feb 12. Fighting between Israeli and UAR forces broke out in another new area near Ashmura.

Feb. 14· At a speech in Latakia, President Nasir promised to "restore the usurped rights of the Palestinian Arabs and to destroy the expansionist dreams of Israel"

Feb 15· Israel refused to attend a meeting with Syria to discuss the recent outbreaks of violence on their frontier

Feb 16· The Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission met at Banat Yacoub in the voluntary absence of the Israeli delegation and adopted two resolutions condemning Israel for incidents in the Tawafik area and for her violation of air space in the Syrian territory

Feb 20 In a speech at Hama, President Nasir declared "we will shed our blood" for the realization of Arab rights

Feb 22 In a speech in the parliament, Mr David Ben-Gurion said that continuing threats against Israel's security justified the maintenance of a military rule in border areas

Feb 25: Well-informed sources in Cairo disclosed that the UAR is understood to have given an informal warning to the UN calling for Israel to evacuate the demilitarized zones during the week-end

A UN spokesman denied that UAR troops had entered the Gaza strip

Feb 26· Premier David Ben-Gurion and all other members of the Cabinet said they were convinced that "there will be no war because our neighbors would not dare attack us and because we have no intention of attacking anybody"

Feb 29 The Arab League Council condemned Israeli plans to divert the Jordan River to irrigate the Negev and postponed discussion of the disagreement among council members on questions of the "Palestine entity"

Mar 1 King Husayn of Jordan deplored the attitude of those who "try to escape responsibility over the Palestine question by casting it on any other quarter"

Mar 3 Mrs Golda Meir said in Jerusalem that she believed the recent increase in the UAR's hostility toward Israel was traceable to internal Arab troubles

Mar. 5. The Jordanian Foreign Minister, Musa Nasir, declared in a press conference that Jordan's present status was an essential element in any plan to liberate Palestine and regain Arab rights.

Mar. 7: President Nasir accused Jordan of having collaborated with the US and Britain against the Arabs.

Al-Ahram announced that it was going to reveal the secrets of the Arab League meeting It said there was a rift between Jordan and the Arab League over Palestine

The British Foreign Secretary said in answer to a question in the House of Commons that Britain voted against the 1949 UN resolution calling for international status for Jerusalem because the government did not want to vote for any solution not acceptable to both Israel and Jordan. The British government's position is still the same.

Jordan has rejected a proposal supported by the UAR and Morocco for the formation of a Palestine army and creation of a "Palestine entity."

Persian Gulf

1959

Dec 17: The pulling of the submarine pipe from Khargu to Ganaveh was completed.

KOC's Mina al-Ahmadi Refinery began production of liquefied petroleum gas.

Dec 21: The managing editor of the *Gulf Times*, Arthur Edward Lawrence, 43, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment at the British court at Manama for firing a pistol "with intent to alarm." For discharging a pistol and causing injury, Lawrence was sentenced to a concurrent term of 3 months' imprisonment

Dec 23: BAPCO announced a general wage and salary increase of 7 5 per cent for all rupee payroll employees effective the first of next year

1960

Jan 19: The Dukhan oil field produced its 50-millionth ton of crude oil Output of crude oil in January 1960 was 719,441 long tons compared with 658,310 in 1959.

Jan 20: The value of goods bought from local merchants by BAPCO increased 45 per cent during 1959 to Rs 13,152,054 as compared with the 1958 record total of Rs 9,099,476, *The Islander* and *al-Najmah al-Usbu'iyah* reported

Jan 22. According to *Petroleum Week*, Kuwayt is interested in receiving "inquiries" about its offshore oil rights, but is not inviting actual bids at present

Jan 21: Qatar Petroleum Company in 1959 totaled 7,866,650 tons, as compared with 8,091,650 tons in 1958, *The Financial Times* reported

Jan 31: The Arabian Oil Company of Tokyo said that it had completed its first test bore in the offshore area in the Persian Gulf

Feb 2: Two Japanese cabinet ministers promised that the government would supply "positive aid" to the Arabian Oil Company for the development of oil resources in the Neutral Zone offshore concession.

Feb 10. A spokesman for the Arabian Oil Company said in Tokyo that it would generally observe international prices when marketing oil from the Middle East without restrictions on companies with foreign capital.

Feb 11. It was announced that the UN has sent a commission of top educators from Britain, the UAR and Lebanon to Kuwayt to draw up plans for a university

Feb. 15: Britain is giving up its separate courts for foreigners resident in Kuwayt, who will gradually come under Kuwayti jurisdiction, it was learned in London

Feb 17 Taro Yamashita, the President of the Arabian Oil Company, said in an interview with *Le Commerce du Levant* that his country would give "priority of purchase to Arab oil."

Feb 25. A new agreement with the UK which gives Kuwayt full responsibility for jurisdiction over all its residents took effect

Feb 28: London Press Service reported that in 1959 the Qatar Petroleum Company spent about £1,500,000 on local purchases and contracts placed in Qatar, a 50 per cent increase over 1958

Saudi Arabia

1959

Dec. 18: Diplomatic sources at the UN reported that Saudi Arabia and Britain were near agreement on preliminary steps to be taken leading to a settlement of outstanding frontier issues and the resumption of diplomatic relations

Dec 21 The Arabian Oil Company announced in Tokyo the signature of a $5 8 million contract with the Seacoast Offshore Drilling Company for a second drilling platform to be used in its Saudi Arabia-Kuwayt offshore Neutral Zone concession.

A government circular on aviation affairs announced the separation of the Civil Aviation Department, which henceforth will operate the airports of the kingdom, and Saudi Arabian Airlines, which will be under the supervision of the Ministry of Defense and Aviation

Dec. 30: The Directorate General of Broadcasting, Press, and Publications announced the Saudi Arabian Government's general budget for the Hijrah fiscal year 1379-1380 with revenues and expenditures totaling SR 1,405 million.

Dec. 31: A Royal Decree, based upon a decision of the Council of Ministers, stipulated the unit of Saudi currency to be the riyal, divided into 20 *qurush*, each divided into 5 *hallahs*

A Royal Decree provided that a currency devaluation profit of SR 232.5 million be added to the budget revenues of 1379-1380, thus raising the total level of revenues and expenditures from SR 1,405 million to SR 1,637.5 million.

1960

Jan. 3: The Council of Ministers announced that the currency stabilization program had resulted within 18 months in an increase in the country's reserves

from $24 to $186 million, the appreciation of the riyal from 6 4 to 4.5 to the dollar, the conversion of a budget deficit into a large surplus, and a price decrease of 15 to 20 per cent.

Jan. 6: The Executive Committee for the Repair of the Hijaz Railway met in Amman to continue consideration of the offer of the American consortium *Intrafi* to repair the damaged portion of the railway at a cost of $21 million.

Jan. 8: Saudi Arabia increased its share in the IMF from $10 to $55 million and its share in the IBRD from 100 to 533 shares ($10 to $73 3 million)

Jan 9: Emperor Haile Selassie arrived in Saudi Arabia for a state visit

Jan. 12: Saudi Arabian output of crude oil in December 1959 averaged 1,209,642 barrels a day, 175,003 barrels more than in December 1958 Average crude production for the year was 1,095,399 barrels daily, 8 per cent more than in the previous year and the largest yearly increase since 1954, *The Journal of Commerce* said

Jan 16. The Japanese Foreign Ministry announced that Japan intends to raise its consulate general in Saudi Arabia to the rank of an embassy

Jan 19 King Muhammad V visited Saudi Arabia

Jan. 21 The Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency has announced that it will henceforth publish statements of accounts at regular intervals in its double capacity of currency issuing agency and government banker

Jan 23 King Sa'ud began a new inspection trip to the north of Riyadh

The UAR Central Minister of Health arrived in Jiddah to head a UAR health mission to Saudi Arabia

Amir Faysal held a press conference in Riyadh at which he announced the lifting of press censorship, although newspapers must continue to comply with the general law of publications Speaking of foreign relations, he said that the Kingdom's position with respect to Buraymi has been made clear and that Saudi Arabia will not yield national rights or honor

Jan. 31: The Arabian Oil Company announced in Tokyo that it had struck oil in its offshore Saudi Arabia-Kuwayt Neutral Zone concession with a yield of 6,000 BPD of 26 6 gravity oil.

Feb 9. In an interview with *al-Bilad*, Arabian Oil Company President Taro Yamashita attributed the success of his company's operations to the cooperative attitude of Saudi oil officials, and hoped that the oil discovery would help to cement Japan's relations with both Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt

Feb 24: ARAMCO's crude oil production in January totaled 37,856,479 barrels, an average of 1,221,177 BPD.

Mar. 5: The Venezuelan Ambassador to the UAR, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, Antonio Martin Araujo, visited Saudi Arabia to present his credentials to King Sa'ud

Mar. 15: Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Tariki expressed the view that the recent oil strike by the Arabian Oil Company "would open a new era in oil-concession politics in the region"

Sudan

1959

Dec. 31: It was reported that the price of Sudan Sakel Grade 5 cotton improved about 30 per cent between March and December. While there are no estimates of the 1959-60 crop, progress reports forecast higher yields per *feddan* from an area which has been expanded from 853,722 *feddans* in 1958-59 to 912,668 *feddans* in the present year

1960

Jan 3: Tribal leader Ibrahim Musa Madibbu died at his home at the age of 77

Jan 6. A joint communiqué issued upon the departure of Emperor Haile Selassie after a week's visit in the Sudan said that Ethiopia and the Sudan would exert "further efforts for the elimination of colonialism from international life and for the recognition of the right of all nations to decide their own destiny"

Jan. 11: 'Abd al-Majid Ahmad, Finance Minister, said the government of Sudan had asked the IBRD to send a delegation to Khartum to discuss granting the Sudan $13,000,000 to help build the proposed Roseries Dam

The Foreign Ministry announced that Japan will send a cotton industrial mission to Sudan by the end of this month

Jan 21: It was reported that the residents of Wadi Halfa will have to move 500 miles outside of their homes to make way for the Aswan Dam which will sink the area in 60 feet of water

Feb 2 The West German delegation which has been visiting the UAR arrived in Khartum to discuss possible investments in industrial projects in the Sudan, as well as the promotion of trade exchanges

Feb 5 An agreement signed between West Germany and the Sudan will extend to the latter technical assistance in cultural, agricultural and industrial fields

Feb 25: The Central Bank of the Sudan started functioning when the formal take-over from the National Bank of Egypt took place today It will be in charge of issuing Sudanese currency in place of the Currency Board which is now dissolved

Mar 4 Major-General Ibrahim 'Abbud, President of the Supreme Council, appealed to all countries for financial aid, experts or archaeological missions to help Sudan save the Nubian historical monuments

Mar. 7: A three-man mission from the IBRD arrived in Khartum to discuss loans to finance the Roseries Dam project and the next stages of the Managil Canal

Mar 8: Sudan's first diesel locomotive, built by English Electric, was formally handed over at a ceremony in Khartum.

According to *al-Ahram*, *Agib Mineraria*, a subsidiary of the Italian state-owned oil corporation ENI, has been holding consultations with the Sudanese Ministry of Commerce concerning the construction of a LE3 million oil refinery at Port Sudan.

Tunisia

(*See also*, General, Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon)

1959

Dec 17. President Eisenhower arrived in Tunis and met with President Bourguiba at La Marsa. He left on the same day.

Dec 19 In a press interview, President Habib Bourguiba disclosed that he had told President Eisenhower that the time was not yet ripe for peace talks between the Algerian nationalist rebels and the French government because the talks had been blocked on the secondary issue of the composition of the nationalist delegation instead of self-determination

Dec 21· In a message of gratitude for Tunisia's hospitality to him, President Eisenhower was quoted as having promised that he would "work without pause for peace, justice and equality for all"

1960

Jan 14 The Mobil International Oil Company announced that it has acquired a 50 per cent interest in a 10-million acre petroleum exploration permit in Tunisia

Jan 24· Dr Nadim al-Pachachi, the former Iraqi Minister of Economy, left for Tunis at the invitation of the Tunisian government to advise on the terms of oil agreements

Jan. 25· President Habib Bourguiba demanded that France evacuate the naval and air base at Bizerte before February 8

Jan. 27· Tunisian workers at the French naval base at Bizerte went on strike

Jan. 28· Tunisia and Iraq signed a trade and payments agreement in Tunis, it was announced in Baghdad

Jan 30 At a news conference in Tunis, President Bourguiba expressed hope that President de Gaulle would quickly restore order in Algiers and rejected the idea that African brigades should fight at the side of Algerian Muslim nationalists as the African People's Congress advanced in their proceedings at Tunis

Feb. 4· Habib Bourguiba, Jr., son of the President, was received by President de Gaulle

Feb 5: It was reported in Paris that President Habib Bourguiba appeared to have softened in his stand for the evacuation of the Bizerte naval base, and it was believed that his son told President de Gaulle that Tunisia did not seek an immediate evacuation but only French recognition of the principle of Tunisian sovereignty over the base.

Feb. 7: France has sent Tunisia a note suggesting that the matter of French evacuation of the Bizerte naval base be left open to negotiation, it was reported

Feb. 8· President Habib Bourguiba declared that he shared the "hopes of the world" for President de Gualle's success in "neutralizing the European insurrectional movement in Algeria," and further said that for that reason "it is inopportune to engage in a battle for the evacuation of Bizerte"

Feb 15· Tunisia is preparing a new offensive for the evacuation of Bizerte which is directed to NATO countries, it was learned The purpose of the drive, according to an authoritative Tunisian source, is "to force the free world to choose between support of its real interests and support of France's colonial policies"

Feb 17· The Tunisian government charged that a French bomber had crossed into Tunisia from Algeria and dropped several bombs near the frontier, damaging property

Feb 18. President Habib Bourguiba has used African resentment toward the French atomic tests as the basis of an explosive attack on one of Islam's strongest institutions—the fast of Ramadan, it was learned in Tunis He gave orders to all public boarding schools to ignore the Ramadan fast and to "give the youngsters vitamins throughout the month"

Feb 29. The majority of Tunisian Muslims appeared to be observing the Ramadan fast despite official discouragement

Turkey

(*See also*, General, Cyprus)

1959

Dec. 16· The Court of Cassation sentenced Ahmad Emin Yalman, editor of *Vatan*, for printing an article critical of Premier Adnan Menderes

Dec. 17: Ahmad Emin Yalman's appeal was rejected by the Court of Cassation

Dec 18· Military authorities have arrested 30 persons on charges of offenses against national security, it was announced in Ankara.

Dec 19. Four newspapers in Istanbul appeared with blank spaces on their front pages when they were forced by a last-minute court order to delete news of the call by the International Press Institute for a protest against the state of the press in Turkey

1960

Jan 6: Premier Adnan Menderes laid the foundation stone of an £18 million refinery at Mersin, a project financed by three refining companies associated with Mobil International, Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum

Jan 8· Turkey's Hirfanli dam went into operation

Jan 19· A Turkish court decided to postpone until February 3 the trial of 4 US service men accused of illegal currency transactions

Jan. 20: Two air disasters in Ankara, about 5 hours and 250 miles apart, are reported to have claimed about 58 lives. The planes were a US Navy twin-engine Martin P-4-M *Mercator* of Fleet Air Reconnaissance Squadron No. 2 and an SAS jet *Caravelle*.

Jan. 24: Following statements from several foreign newspapers criticizing Turkey's laws with regard to the press, the Press Minister, Haluk Shaman, declared that Turkey enjoyed "complete freedom of the press."

A new company to own and operate the proposed $25,650,000, 20,800 BPD Istanbul Refinery is being formed by Caltex and Turkiye Petrolleri A.O, a government-owned company It will be called Istanbul Petrol Rafinerisi A. S (IPRAS).

Jan. 27: A search party was reported to be looking for "most important documents" in the wreckage of the US Navy plane that crashed last week

Feb. 3: Turkish authorities notified USAF sergeant Joseph Proietti that he would have to start serving a 20-month jail term for the manslaughter of a child in an automobile accident in June, 1958

Feb 4: The Government of Turkey and EXIMBANK signed an agreement finalizing loans totaling $12 2 million to assist in the Turkish economic stabilization program.

Feb. 10: Thirty USAF fighter bombers arrived in Adana to prepare for their coming 21-day tour of CENTO nations

Feb 15: The fourth list of import quotas was announced together with new liberalization measures, namely the list of quotas which covers imports from the E M A and free currency countries to the value of $99,729,000, the liberalization list and the list of goods for which import licenses will be granted automatically to authorized users and the list for goods which can be imported on credit

Feb. 17 One deputy suffered an injured eye and others facial cuts when about 50 of them traded blows in Parliament when the Opposition accused the former Minister of Exploitation, Samet Agaoglu, of having provided illegal benefits for his brother-in-law

Feb 20· President Celal Bayar and Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu arrived in Karachi on a seven-day visit at the invitation of President Muhammad Ayub Khan

Feb. 24 The fifth anniversary of CENTO was observed at its headquarters in Ankara

Feb. 29. EXIMBANK and the Government of Turkey signed an agreement finalizing a $15 million credit for the purchase of US heavy materials to produce steel and iron ore.

Mar. 1: The budget for the financial year was approved by the National Assembly providing for expenditures estimated at £T7,281.7 million of which £T4,643,207.3 million is for current spending and £T2,638,4 million is for investment.

The Turkish Penal Court sentenced Pfc. James Dillon to 10 months in jail, 2½ years of banishment to a small Turkish village and a fine of $1,400 on smuggling charges.

Mar. 3: An earthquake shook Istanbul, Edrine and Canakkale, but no damage was reported

Mar. 6: It was reported at the UN than Turkey had moved farther and faster than its neighboring states in the rehabilitation program formulated by the UN last year.

Mar. 7: Seventy-two-year-old *Vatan* editor Ahmad Emin Yalman began his prison term.

Mar. 13: Foreign Minister Fatin Ruştü Zorlu said that Turkey's affiliation with the European Economic Community could make her "healthy" economy even stronger

United Arab Republic

(*See also*, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Palestine Problem, Morocco, Saudi Arabia)

1959

Dec. 16: *Tass* reported that Russia is to give the UAR technical aid in building two factories which would produce radio apparatus and abrasive materials

Sources in Washington reported that G. Frederick Reinhardt is expected to be named by President Eisenhower as the next ambassador to the UAR.

Colonel Mahmud Yunis left for New York on his way to the IBRD meeting which is expected to draw up the final agreement providing a loan of $56,500,000 for Suez Canal development.

Dec. 17· German sources reported that the UAR will buy at least five 10,000-ton ships from East Germany

Dec. 18· UAR authorities held up at Port Sa'id the Greek cargo ship *Astypalea* which was reported to be on her way to Jibuti with 400 tons of cement from Haifa The master was requested to unload before the ship would be allowed to go through the Suez

Dec 19. The UAR signed an agreement with the US for a $12,000,000 loan to build the country's first TV station It will be repaid in 30 years at 4 per cent interest.

West Germany has offered a loan of 200,000,000 Deutsche marks to the UAR to build the second stage of the Aswan High Dam, it was reported in Cairo

The UAR accused Israel of using the *Astypalea* in "another attempt" to block a loan to Cairo by the IBRD to improve the Suez.

Dec. 22: The IBRD made the loan to the Suez Canal Authority. It was made over the objections of the Israeli Government and the appeal of 66 US representatives to delay the loan as long as Cairo did not permit Israeli goods to pass freely through the canal.

The government planning affairs committee was reorganized under the chairmanship of 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi, Vice-President and Central Minister of Planning.

Dec. 24: A trade mission from the UAR will arrive in Djakarta next month, *Antara* news agency reported, and it will discuss with the Indonesian government ways for the smooth functioning of the trade agreement the two countries recently concluded.

Dec 29. *Al-Ahram* reported that the UAR is now, for the first time, exporting gasoline produced at the Suez Refinery to Europe.

Dec 30: President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir accepted the resignation of Akram al-Hurani, Central Vice-President and Minister of Justice; Salah al-Bitar, Central Minister of Culture and National Guidance; 'Abd al-Ghani Kanut, Minister of Social Affairs for Syria, and Mustafa Hamdun, Minister of Agriculture for Syria.

Dec 31 Informed sources believe President Nasir's drive to set up a National Union as an approach to popular government in the UAR was a major factor in the resignation of the four ministers

1960

Jan. 1: The Suez Finance Company received a payment of LE7 million from the UAR as part compensation for the nationalization of the Suez.

Jan. 3: Drilling of well Bakr No. 19 had been completed, it was reported, and tests showed that it produced at the rate of 550 tons of oil a day from a depth of 3,200 feet.

Jan 5: Aswan Dam officials said that the UAR had received offers from West Germany, Italy, Japan, Austria and Britain, for the second stage construction projects

Jan. 7. Raul Rao, Cuban Foreign Minister, had an hour-long meeting with Dr. Mahmud Fawzi, during which they discussed the consolidation of political and economic relations between their countries, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said

King Muhammad of Morocco was received by President Nasir when he arrived for a 12-day visit.

Jan. 9: President Nasir set off a ten-ton dynamite explosion to start construction of the Aswan High Dam

Jan 10. Dr Ralph J Bunche was given to understand that the UAR would continue to deny Israeli ships and cargoes transit through the Suez

The first main turbine of the hydro-electric power station attached to the Aswan Dam was inaugurated.

Jan. 11: A center for training in marketing fruit and vegetables, sponsored by the FAO and the UAR, was opened by the under-secretary at the UAR Ministry of Agriculture, Dr. 'Abd al-'Aziz Husayn, at the Agricultural Museum, Dokki.

Jan. 13· President Eisenhower told a press conference in Washington that the US would support IBRD financing of further stages of the Aswan High Dam

A reliable source in London said that the British Government did not at present consider contributing to the financing of the second stage of the Aswan project although it would not try to dissuade the IBRD or individual British firms from contributing.

Jan. 18: The UAR announced that the Soviet Union has agreed to finance the second stage of the Aswan High Dam, as revealed by letters exchanged by President Nasir and Premier Khrushchev.

Jan. 19: State Department officials in Washington acknowledged that Soviet success in financing and constructing the Aswan High Dam would probably enhance Soviet prestige in Asia and Africa.

President Nasir is understood to have accepted the Soviet offer to build the second stage of the Aswan High Dam

Jan. 24· The West German Minister of Economy, Dr. Ludwig Erhard, arrived in Cairo at the head of an 11-man mission to conduct talks on trade exchanges as well as West German participation in development projects in both regions of the UAR.

Jan 25· President Nasir denied to reporters in Cairo that there was an agreement between Mr Dag Hammarskjöld and Dr Mahmud Fawzi to allow Israeli cargoes through the Suez Canal.

Jan. 26 The British Government accepted an invitation from the UAR to send a small trade mission to Egypt

Jan 28· It was confirmed that the Soviet Union will grant £100,000,000 in aid for the UAR for the second stage of the Aswan High Dam

Feb. 1: Talks between the UAR authorities and the West German Economic delegation were suspended because of the sudden illness of Dr. Erhard

Feb. 3· The owners of the *Inge Toft* have decided to discharge her cargo and sail, it was announced

The UAR and Cuba have signed a $6,670,353 trade agreement, in which gasoline is mentioned as one of the items Cuba will import from the UAR, it was learned

The UAR sent a letter to the President of the Security Council charging "a renewed act of aggression by Israeli armed forces on the UAR (Syrian Region) in violation of the Armistice Agreement" (Doc. S/4263).

Feb 6· The UAR is willing to discuss border incidents with Israel within the UN Mixed Armistice Commission but not on Israeli terms, officials of the UAR said.

The release of the *Inge Toft* was jeopardized when Port Sa'id customs authorities refused to pay the cost of unloading her cargo

Feb. 7· The plan of the Soviet Union to lend the UAR equivalent to $280 million on the construction of the Aswan High Dam was confirmed at a meeting of the joint Soviet-UAR High Dam Committee in Cairo.

Feb 9: The UAR higher civil defence council held its first meeting since the unification of civil defence laws in the two regions of the republic.

Feb. 15: The steamer *Inge Toft* finished unloading and sailed for Haifa.

Feb 16: An agreement regulating air traffic between

West Germany and the UAR was signed in Bonn, the Foreign Office announced.

John Profumo, British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said the return of British desequestrated property by the UAR had accelerated rapidly in the last few months

Feb. 17: At a speech in Allepo, President Nasir said that the UAR would never allow Israeli ships or goods through the Suez Canal

Feb 18. The UAR sent a letter to the President of the Security Council containing the text of the resolutions adopted by the Mixed Armistice Commission on February 16 along with Doc. S/4268. It stressed that Israel had "violated the Armistice Agreement in committing an armed aggression against an Arab village in the demilitarized zone," and that the Mixed Armistice Commission had confirmed the presence of regular Israeli forces in the zone

Feb 21: The UN Mixed Armistice Commission made an on-the-spot investigation into a protest by the UAR that 9 Israeli airplanes had violated its air space by flying over the town of Khan Yunis

The UAR prepared to celebrate the second anniversary of the merger of Syria and Egypt

Feb. 22 The old Muslim pattern of divorce in the UAR will be abolished next October 1. A husband may no longer divorce his wife by simply telling her "I divorce thee" He must go to court and give good reasons

The UAR commemorated the second anniversary of its independence At the ceremonies, President Nasir handed title deeds to about three dozen Syrian peasants to inaugurate the nation's third land reform project

Feb 24. A British trade mission set out to restore commerce with the UAR to the old level and let the troubles that led to the Suez war be forgotten, it was disclosed

Feb 25 President Nasir charged the Western powers with "premeditating aggression against us" by maintaining their guarantee of the Arab–Israeli frontiers

Germans study the Qattara project in a possible acceptance of the UAR bid for aid in the development of the project to produce electric power for the new industries of the republic.

Feb 27· The heads of the big powers' missions, Britain, the US and the USSR, were received separately at the Foreign Office in compliance with their request to discuss Israel-UAR developments

Mar. 1: The UAR paid to Britain the balance of the compensation money for Egyptianized property agreed under their financial pact of March 15, 1959, a Foreign Office spokesman said in London

Mar 2: President Nasir will pay a five-day state visit to Greece beginning June 1, the Greek Foreign Ministry confirmed

Mar 3· The Liberian tanker *Caribbean Wave* was detained at Port Sa'id for a routine check because it had just come from an Israeli port

Mar. 5: Italy and the UAR signed a commercial treaty in Rome under which Italian concerns will aid the development projects of the UAR.

The *Caribbean Wave* was released

G Frederick Reinhardt presented his credentials to Foreign Minister Mahmud Fawzi as the new US Ambassador to the UAR

Mar. 10 The Executive Council decided to issue a 5 million lire loan for settlement in the agrarian reform areas and on government-owned land. 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sarraj, Minister of the Interior, said the council also made 30 other decisions concerning development projects during a meeting which discussed proposals from the provincial National Union committees

Mar 14· The UAR formed an eleven-man team to combat anti-Islamic material in foreign newspapers, books and broadcasts especially against an anti-Islamic campaign launched by the Soviet Union some weeks ago

Egypt

1959

Dec 21 The Union Jack flew in Cairo for the first time in more than three years, signalling the resumption of British-UAR diplomatic relations

Dec 27· It was reported that Egyptian cotton exports from the beginning of the current season until the end of November 1959 totaled 1,264,594 cantars valued at 18,297,000 pounds Cotton yarn exports for the same period totaled 4,456 tons valued at 2 2 million pounds

1960

Jan 5 Outgoing payments in transferable currencies for imports and most invisibles were made in the Egyptian region at a rate involving a foreign exchange premium of 20 per cent instead of the premium of 27 5 per cent effective since Sept 1, 1959

Jan 7: King Muhammad of Morocco arrived in Cairo to take part in the Aswan Dam dedication ceremonies.

Jan 8 UAR Minister of Industry 'Aziz Sidqi has ordered the formation of a special committee to draw up the conditions governing the bidding for concession blocks in Egypt's Western desert in view of recent discoveries of good oil prospects in that area.

Jan 9· It was announced that Egypt will build new oil storage facilities at a cost of LE 2,000,000 to supplement an internal pipeline network linking Suez with Cairo which is now under construction

Jan 12 A French financial delegation left Paris by air for Cairo to discuss with the Egyptian authorities a number of technical questions which remained unsettled after the Franco-Egyptian agreement reached at Geneva in July, 1958 The main questions to be discussed will be compensation for French shareholders of a number of Egyptian com-

panies, and ways of lifting the decree on sequestration of French companies by Egypt.

Jan 25 Two US freighters have been detained following claims by Semco, an Egyptian shipping company, for LE 8,200 in handling charges from the owners A hearing on the claims was set for February 15

Jan 27. A five-man British scientific mission visiting Egypt left Cairo at the end of a 10-day stay after "most satisfactory talks" with officials at Cairo and Alexandria universities where they "investigated the possibilities of British educational cooperation"

Jan 28 *Al-Ahram* reported that zoning operations in the Western desert area are now in progress. Blocs will vary from 200 and 400 sq kms each

Jan 29. The Egyptian Minister of Education ordered that a census should be taken of all the ministry's officials who hold degrees in geology to be assigned to work with Soviet geologists who have been loaned to Egypt to help with geological surveys

Jan 31 Egypt's petroleum projects under the Second Five Year Industrialization Program will cost an estimated LE35,000,000, *al-Ahram* reported

Feb 7: The Mobil Oil Company of Egypt inaugurated its new oil storage depot (capacity, 30,000 tons) at Mex near Alexandria

Feb 11 Dr 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Qaysuni announced that Egypt has nationalized the Bank of Egypt and the National Bank He said that the banks' shares would become government bonds of nominal share value equivalent to the previous day's closing prices on the Cairo stock exchange

Feb. 16 The American freighter *Valiant Faith* (7,247 tons) was arrested at Port Sa'id after the issue of a writ by Semco claiming $36,000 on behalf of the Société Algerienne de Petrole, Algiers The other freighter, *Rockland*, was released after paying LE11,000

Feb. 17: *Al-Jumhuriyah* reported that James Braafladt, Middle East representative of the Atlantic Refining Company, arrived to negotiate with the UAR Petroleum Authority for a concession in the Western desert

Feb 20: Included in the chemical industries sector of the Egyptian Second Five-Year Industrialization Program is a project for the construction of a plant for the manufacture of synthetic woolen thread from petroleum by-products, *al-Masa* disclosed

The drilling of well No. 7 at Karim has been completed and its production capacity is estimated to be about 40 tons a day.

Feb. 23: H G Nelson, leader of the British mission, expressed confidence that the volume of Anglo-Egyptian trade will be restored to its pre-Suez level

Feb. 29: The UAR completed the payment of a lump sum of £27 5 million in compensation for British property taken over or sold to its nationals and for damage suffered by sequestrated property in Egypt, under the terms of the financial agreement of February 28, 1959

Mar 6 Crude oil production is expected to increase from 5,100,000 tons a year to 8,520,000 tons on the completion of the Second Industrialization Program in 1965, a source at the Ministry of Industry said

Mar. 8 Colin Crowe, British chargé d'affaires in the UAR, died in Cairo

A Port Sa'id court postponed the hearing of a case against the freighter *Valiant Faith* due to lack of further documents on the case.

Syria

1959

Dec 16 Field Marshal 'Abd al-Hakim 'Amir issued a decree setting up a five-man committee to supervise the execution of the agrarian reform law.

Dec 17 An authoritative source said that India wishes to buy Syrian cotton from this year's crop

Dec 21. Ahmad al-Hajj Yunis, Minister of Agriculture, said that government loans to farmers had reached a total of 20 million lire, 18 million of which were seasonal and the rest long-term.

Dec 22 The enlarging of Aleppo airport at a cost of two million lire is to be begun early next year, the airport director said. Jet craft would be able to use the airport, which will be in service day and night

Dec 23: A second meeting of Syrian and Turkish governors of frontier provinces will be held in Turkey at the beginning of April, the Syrian Ministry of Interior announced

Dec 24: Dr Nur al-din Kahhalah, President of the Executive Council, announced that President Nasir had authorized him in his capacity as Syrian Minister of Public Works to enter into contracts for the building of Tartus port without being confined to the laws and regulations concerning general accounting and tenders

Syria signed a contract with Technoexport for preparing a preliminary project for the establishment of a Euphrates dam Construction will start in 1962 and the completion of the project is expected to be in four years

Dec. 25: Ahmad al-Hajj Yunis announced a five-year program for the afforestation of 6,000 hectares of barren hills and other areas in the interior and 5,000 in coastal areas to check the advance of sand on surrounding areas The project will be started in Damascus, Hama and Latakia

Dec 27. Syrian authorities reported they had smashed a group of Communist youth cells believed to be the last secret Communist organization in the region

Field Marshal 'Amir issued Decision No. 73 providing for the amendment of the customs tariff in Syria which exempts butter, cheese and certain kinds of fish and meat from customs duty

Dec. 28: President Nasir authorized the Syrian Ministry of Public Works to sign a contract with a Yugoslav firm to build a port at Tartus The contract exempts the contracting firm from payment of customs duties on imported equipment, municipal

taxes, income taxes (except on salaries and wages paid by the firm) and stamp duties.

Dec. 30: Field Marshal 'Amir issued a decree setting up a committee of four ministers to help him in organizing the National Union. The members are: 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sarraj, Minister of the Interior, Ahmad al-Hajj Yunis, Minister of Agriculture, Tuma Awadatallah, Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs and Dr Amjad Tarabulsi, Minister of Education.

1960

Jan. 3: President Nasir accepted the resignation of the Syrian Minister of the Economy, Khalil Kallas.

Jan. 7: Syria awarded the Yugoslav firm Pomorsko a LS 32,320,000 contract to build a port at Tartus

Jan. 9· This year's cotton crop was reportedly bigger and of better quality than last year's The total production was 98,500 tons

Jan 10: Reports reaching Damascus said floods sweeping northern Syria had caused 10 deaths in three days

Jan 16· A decree reducing the price of gas oil by 20 per cent came into effect

In the past fortnight, 45,000 tons of oil products from the Homs Refinery were exported to Holland

Jan. 25 The Under-Secretary of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Mines and Minerals completed a 10-day inspection tour of areas in the Syrian region where Soviet technicians are carrying out geological and other survey work

Jan 30. Talks began with the West German delegation on the prospect of loans and technical aid for economic development in Syria

An official spokesman charged that Israeli border police fired on Syrian farmers inside a demilitarized zone

Feb. 4 Arab artillery fire damaged an Israeli armored car in a skirmish at the Syrian frontier

Feb. 6· Evacuees from Tawafik village expressed their determination to go back and drive out the Israeli "invaders"

The Executive Council in Syria approved the establishment of a new oil company in Syria, the National Petroleum Company

Feb. 10· Elections took place in all the Syrian provinces except Idlib province, where elections were postponed due to lack of a sufficient number of voters

Feb. 13. A six-man US trade mission began talks with Syrian officials and business men "to promote and facilitate healthy and prosperous two-way trade" between the US and the UAR.

Feb. 14: There was speculation in Cairo that President Nasir's visit to Syria might be related to the resignation of 4 Syrian members of the UAR and Syrian regional cabinets and recurring reports that more Syrians might resign in a general revision of the central Cabinet

President Nasir held private talks with Syrian officials today on the recent Syrian-Israeli border clashes.

Feb. 16: *Tass* announced that Soviet seismic and gravity meter survey teams had started exploring potential oil bearing areas in Syria.

Feb. 17: President Nasir received a "rousing" welcome in Aleppo

Feb. 18: Work to begin on a new railroad in Syria, linking Aleppo with Latakia, was inaugurated by President Nasir.

Feb. 20· An agreement to extend US technical assistance to Syria was signed in Cairo

Feb. 21: At the second anniversary celebration of the union of Syria with Egypt, President Nasir declared that the tripartite declaration of 1950 was "dead and buried in Port Sa'id."

Feb. 25. An American five-man trade team headed by Mr Paul Hawk left for Cairo after a two-week visit to Syria where talks with officials and chambers of commerce and industry were held for the purpose of increasing trade

Feb 27: The trial of Khalid Fakhri al-Nabuk, Syrian Air Force officer accused of passing military information to an Israeli-Turkish spy ring, was postponed to March 5

Mar. 1· The Syrian Petroleum Organization began the study of financial and technical clauses of tenders received from foreign and local firms to connect the government-owned refinery in Homs by pipelines with various provinces

President Nasir issued a decree granting displacement allowances to permanent government employees serving in the Hasaka, Deir ez-Zor and 'Ayn al-Arab areas if they are not natives of those areas.

Mar 3. President Nasir presided over a meeting of the Executive Council in which Field Marshal 'Amir was also a participant It discussed agricultural development and anticipated expanded agricultural income under the five-year plan

Mar 7· Construction of the new Damascus international airport will begin in January, 1961, Sayyid Muhammad al-Hakim declared

Mar. 10 An authoritative source at the government-controlled Palestine Refugee Organization said that the organization's budget has been increased one million Syrian lire over the previous year's budget

Mar 11 Syria and Egypt will have separate budgets for 1961, Dr. Nur al-din Kahhalah disclosed.

Yemen

(*See also,* Aden)

1960

Feb 1· G K. N. Trevaskis, British agent in the Western Protectorate, visited Baidha, Yemen, and had friendly talks on frontier matters with Yemeni officials He was accompanied by Sultan Salih bin Husayn al-Audhali, Sultan Muhammad bin Salih Harhara, ruler of Upper Yafa'i state, Amir Jibil bin Husayn al-Audhali and Amir Hamud bin Muhammad Harhara.

DOCUMENT

Saudi Arabian Royal Decree on Devaluation of the Riyal, and the Establishment of a Paper Currency

Number 6, dated 1/Rajab/1379 A.H.

With the Help of God the Supreme

We, Sa'ud ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, King of the Sa'udi Arabian Kingdom, having perused Articles 19 and 20 of the Law of the Council of Ministers, and Article 3 of the Law of the Sa'udi Currency Board Number 23 dated Jumada I of the year 1377; and the resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers, No 91, dated 29/Jumada II/1779, and having considered the recommendations of the Chairman of the Council Ministers, hereby decree the following:

ARTICLE 1.
The unit of Sa'udi Currency is the Sa'udi Riyal The riyal is divided into 20 Sa'udi *qurush*, and a Sa'udi *qirsh* is divided into 5 Sa'udi Hillal.

ARTICLE 2.
The value of a Sa'udi Riyal is equivalent to that of 0 197482 gram of pure gold to be known as the "Equivalence Value," which may not be altered except by Royal Decree and in accordance with the international agreements to which the Sa'udi Arabian Kingdom is a signatory.

ARTICLE 3.
The rights of minting and printing and issuing of Sa'udi Currency is hereby vested solely in the Sa'udi Arabian Currency Board. It is forbidden for anyone else to exercise the right.

ARTICLE 4.
The Council of Ministers shall, in accordance with the recommendations of the Sa'udi Currency Board, and subject to the approval of the Minister of Finance, and the provisions of this Decree, decide upon the following matters:

A The paper and metal currency units, (i) to be issued for circulation, (ii) their shapes and sizes, their inscriptions and drawings, their numbers, dimensions, materials and grades, their weights and all other specifications as well as the expenses of making them, (iii) the safe storage of all clichés, casts, dies and sample copies of the signatures of those authorized to sign the paper currency, (iv) the means and measures of preventing imitations and counterfeits, (v) place and time of printing and minting.

B The designation of banks into which may be deposited foreign moneys which constitute part of the coverage of the Sa'udi Arabian Currency, (the Sa'udi Arabian Reserve Fund) provided that those banks shall be of the first order

C. Investment by the Sa'udi Currency Board of foreign currency reserve funds in foreign stock markets, in accordance with the methods followed by [other] Central Banks

ARTICLE 5.
The Sa'udi Arabian Currency Board shall, subject to the approval of the Minister of Finance and in accordance with the stipulations of this Decree [law] decide upon the following:

A. Withdrawal, replacement and disposal of currency and coins which become unfit for circulation, for lack of essential features, or for lack of coverage, provided that such

withdrawals shall be made after a period of no less than two months, or whenever there is an urgent necessity of public interest to effect such withdrawals, and provided that Sections B and C of this Article be adhered to.

B Conditions of the used paper currency to be replaced, provided that no compensation is paid for currency notes which have lost their essential features, or one fifth part of their total size, the two serial numbers, or the signatures stipulated in Article 8 of this Decree, or coins that have lost the outlines of their surfaces, or which have been chopped or filed or punched or washed with corrosive chemical fluids, or which have been disfigured or deformed, unless it is conclusively proved that such defects and deformations were due to irresistible overwhelming circumstances; and in such cases the courts of law, after having been duly convinced, decide upon the necessary compensation

C. Seizure, confiscation and disposal of counterfeit coins or currencies and the institution of the necessary order of seizure and confiscation with copy to the appropriate authorities for legal action.

D The publication of notices concerning Sa'udi Arabian Currency in the Official Gazette or in other suitable organs

ARTICLE 6

The Sa'udi Arabian Currency Board shall cover, completely and in full equivalence value, all the currencies which it issues by gold and by the gold equivalent of such foreign currencies as are convertible to gold.

B. Under no circumstances may the Sa'udi Arabian Currency Board issue any currency which is not completely covered; such coverage shall be safely and securely deposited in the Kingdom; coverages other than gold may, however, be deposited in safe custody of foreign banks of the first order.

C. The coverage shall be at the rate of equivalence value, specified in Article two of this Decree.

D. Whenever an assessment of the coverage-in-stock is made, all surpluses shall be transferred to the Government; and may be used to fortify the coverage and stabilize the value of the existing currency.

ARTICLE 7

The paper currency of one Riyal, and any multiples or submultiples thereof shall be negotiable legal tender to unlimited values, for the payment of personal and public debts and dues, provided that no one shall be required to accept sums more than the value of ten Riyals in fractional units of a Riyal except the Sa'udi Arabian Currency Board or any of its branches or agencies which, in order to facilitate transactions, shall accept and receive any sums consisting of any units of Sa'udi coinage or currency, in payment of dues or for replacement by other units of Currency

ARTICLE 8

The Sa'udi Arabian paper currency notes shall bear the joint signatures of the Minister of Finance and the Governor of the Sa'udi Arabian Currency Board

ARTICLE 9

As from the date of publication of this Decree all Sa'udi gold pounds shall be withdrawn from circulation and shall cease to be legal tender. Those in possession of Sa'udi gold pounds may have them exchanged at the Sa'udi Currency Board during a period of two months from the date of publication of this Decree, at the rate of forty Sa'udi Riyals for one gold pound At the end of this period, the gold pound shall become a commodity

ARTICLE 10

The Sa'udi Arabian Currency Board shall keep a detailed record of all the paper currency and metal coins in its custody, as well as those which have been issued for circulation, and those which have been withdrawn from circulation.

ARTICLE 11.

The Sa'udi Arabian Currency Board shall publish, in the Official Gazette, a fortnightly statement of its [financial] situation during the preceding two weeks including the value of currencies and coins issued for circulation; then complete equivalent coverage, as well as a state-

ment comparing the above figures with the corresponding figures of the fortnight before, and at the end of each year a general statement in the Official Gazette, audited and approved by a legal recognized auditor. This statement shall cover all actions taken by the Board, its general financial standing, its annual balance sheet and its profit and losses, all in accordance with the practices followed by the Central Banks.

ARTICLE 12.

A All provisions of this Decree shall apply to pilgrim credit notes until such notes have been completely withdrawn

B The Sa'udi Arabian Currency Board shall bring about the gradual withdrawal of all pilgrim credit notes and exchange them for new currency notes, during a period to be assigned and announced by the Board.

ARTICLE 13.

The Sa'udi Arabian Currency Board shall, subject to the approval of the Minister of Finance issue all instructions in accordance with this decree.

ARTICLE 14.

All previous laws which conflict with any of the stipulations of this decree are hereby repealed

ARTICLE 15.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of Finance and National Economy shall implement this Decree, which shall come into force from the date of its publication

(signed) Sa'ud.

BOOK REVIEWS

Tunisian Nationalism: A Bibliographical Outline

Paul E. A. Romeril

THE REFORMIST MOVEMENT IN OTTOMAN TUNISIA

During the last half of the nineteenth century there developed in Beylical Tunisia, as in other areas of the Osmanli Empire, a tendency to adopt Western technology, a current of liberal constitutionalism, and a growth of Muslim reformism. Perhaps the most influential representation of this development was the philosopher-vizir Khayr al-Din, who—impressed by the ideals of Midhat Pasha—induced the Bey to proclaim the *Abd al-Aman* (Covenant of Peace) of 1858. A French translation of this document, and indeed of many other laws important in Tunisian history, may be found in

Victor Silvera, *Le Régime Législatif d'un Protectorat de Droit International: Essai sur l'Origine et les Fondements du Droit Public Tunisien*, Tunis, Imprimerie Artypo, 1939

The Covenant became for a time almost an organic law for Tunisia; it facilitated the subsequent establishment of a Legislative Council, and provided during the next century a focus for nationalist opposition to French rule. The significance of this early reformism is discussed in:

A. Demeerseman, "Au Berceau des Premières Réformes Democratiques en Tunisie," and "Aspect Humain des Réformes de Kheriddine en Tunisie," in *Ibla*, XX (1957), 1 and 317 respectively;

'Alal al-Fasi, *Independence Movement in Arab North Africa*, Washington, American Council of Learned Societies, 1954, trans H. Z Nuseibeh, pp. 41-43;

L C. Feraud, *Annales Tripolitaines*, Tunis, Librairie Tournier, 1927, Section 5, and

Nicola Ziadeh, *Whither North Africa?*, Aligarh, Institute of Islamic Studies, 1957, p. 52 (henceforth *Africa*).

Perhaps the most comprehensive introduction to this period is provided by

Charles-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord: Tunisie, Algerie, Maroc*, Paris, Payot, 1951-1952, 2 vols;

despite the fact that the second volume proceeds only as far as 1830.

THE PROTECTORATE

A study of the origins of French influence in Tunisia, emphasizing legal and administrative developments, may be found in Yvan Debbasch, *La Nation Française en Tunisie*, Paris, Sirey, 1957. Actual French domination of Tunisia was recognized in the Treaty of Bardo (1881), interpretations of which are offered in Ziadeh, *Africa*, p 31; Leon Laitman, *Tunisia Today; Crisis in North Africa*, New York, Citadel, 1954, pp. 42-45; and

G. Yver, *et al*, *L'Afrique du Nord Française dans l'Histoire*, Paris, Archat, 1937, Section 3.

l'Histoire, Paris, Archat, 1937, Section 3.

Although this treaty maintained the nominal sovereignty of the Bey, the Treaty of Marsa

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(1883) rendered Tunisian independence quite fictitious. The resultant protectorate, which may be defined as the gradual usurpation by French administrators of Beylical authority, is described in Silvera *op.cit.*, pp. 37-114;

A Basset, *et al.*, *Initiation a la Tunisie*, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1950, Section 4; and

Arthur Girault, *Principes de Colonisation et de Legislation Coloniale, V: L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, Sirey, 1928.

Armed opposition to the *présence française* continued into the last years of the century, by which time the Ottoman Sultan had finally relinquished his sovereignty. The negotiations pursuant to this transfer are traced in

E. R. de Card, *La Turquie et le Protectorat Français en Tunisie, 1881-1913*, Paris, Pendone et Gamber, 1916

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

The Intellectual Circles

Not until three decades after the French entry did latent opposition manifest itself in the form of an incipient nationalist movement. Two of the earliest figures were the shaykhs Muhammad al-Sanusi and Makki ibn Azuz, who led a circle of progressive 'ulama opposed to both foreign domination and religious decadence. From the same institution—the Zaytuna mosque in Tunis—there emerged in 1905 the influential al-Hadirah group which reflected the influence of Afghani, 'Abduh, and Mustafa Kamil—pan-Islam, constitutionalism, and nationalism. Accounts of this seminal period may be found in Fasi, *op.cit.*, pp. 44-47, and Ziadeh, *Africa*, p 33

The Young Tunisians

The influence of these and other small groups, however, was limited to the educated upper (often clerical) classes. A more broadly based organization, the Young Tunisians, appeared in 1907 under the leadership of the brothers 'Ali and Muhammad Bash Hamba and Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Tha'libi. The last edited the group's organ, *Le Tunisien*, and soon became the acknowledged leader of the nationalist movement. Inspired by the slogans of reformers in Constantinople and by the values of Western liberalism, the Young Tunisians called for the restoration of Beylical authority, under which they proposed to establish a democratic society. This resistance to both the French and the "Old Turbans" (the protagonists of religious traditionalism) between 1908 and 1915 often ended in violence and deportation. The history of this group is sketched in Fasi, *op.cit.*, pp. 47-49; somewhat tendentiously in

N. A. Nanov, "The Anti-Colonial Movement in Tunisia and the Young Tunisians," *Sovietskoye Vostokovedenya*, I (1957), 50-60 (in Russian); and

Nicola Ziadeh, "Tunisia—A Forgotten Land," *Middle East Forum*, XXVIII (February 1953), 4-8 (henceforth *Land*).

The Destour Party

Immediately following World War One, Tunisia experienced the penetration of Wilsonian ideals from without and the growth of Muslim reformism and middle class national consciousness from within. For it was primarily the bourgeousie who, according to

Nevill Barbour, "Variations of Arab National Feeling in French North Africa," *Middle East Journal* (henceforth *MEJ*), VIII (1954), 308-309 (henceforth *Variations*),

now felt discrimination at the hands of a régime which seemed increasingly to favor a European minority. The French proposal in 1919 to expropriate *waqf* lands *(habus)* brought to the nationalists the support of conservative religious circles previously sympathetic to the Protectorate. This collaboration is described in

Benjamin Rivlin, "The Tunisian National Movement: Four Decades of Evolution," *MEJ*, VI (1952), 168 (henceforth *Evolution*),

as "the first example of the eclectic dualism—Western modernism and traditional Islam—that characterizes Tunisian nationalism to this day." As a result, a petition for self-determination was presented to the Paris Peace Conference by a joint delegation representing both middle class Young Tunisians and the religious hierarchy. Further, the Destour (Constitution) Party established in 1920 combined both elements, the traditionalist members being inclined

toward Shakib Arslan's pan-Arabism. This inclination is described in

Charles-André Julien, "France and Islam," *Foreign Affairs*, XVIII, (1940), 685-686 (henceforth *Islam*)

The Destour group, led by Shaykh al-Tha'libi, called for a self-governing constitutional régime based upon the liberal freedoms (including universal suffrage), and Beylical tradition Indeed, the very "constitution" of their name referred to that granted sixty years before Their nine-point program — including a legislative assembly, equality before the law, compulsory education, and the like—is described in Fasi, *op. cit*, pp 54-56, and Rivlin, *Evolution*, p. 169 The demand for independence made of President Wilson was not included in the Party's presentation to the Bey, doubtless to avoid complicating his relationship with the French. In extending their organization to most parts of Tunisia and in demanding various reforms, the Constitutionalists encountered first half-measures and then severe repression. Shaykh al-Tha'libi's exile in 1923 opened a decade of rather timid party activity during which the Destour Youth groups became increasingly restive

THE NEO-DESTOUR

The pre-War Years

In 1933 a fateful division in nationalist ranks occurred. Although the immediate cause of this split was the alleged collaboration (for which see Fasi, *op. cit.*, pp 65-66) of the Destour old guard with the French, most fundamental factors where the incompatibility of the attitudes held by various factors within the movement, and the desire of the impatient modernists to encourage mass participation in Destour activities This conflict is described in Rivlin, *Evolution*, p 171, and

Peter Calvocoressi, *Survey of International Affairs, 1952*, Toronto, Oxford for R I.I.A., 1955, p. 267.

An interesting account of the division, attacking the "false élite" for either collaboration or "superficial extension," may be found in the official

———, *Tunisia*, Tunis (?), Secretariat of State for Information (henceforth SSI), 1957, pp. 19-20 (henceforth, *Tunisia*).

In 1934 the Neo-Destour was created, under the leadership of the lawyer Habib Bourguiba and the writer Tahir Safar. Bourguiba's activities before becoming Secretary-General of the new party, including his founding of two newspapers, are outlined in the biographies

L S Kenworthy, "Bourguiba: Kingpin in North Africa," *The Progressive* (Madison, Wisconsin), 1958 (available to the writer as an unpaginated reprint);

G. Neville-Bagot, "Habib Bourguiba, Prime Minister of Tunisia," *Islamic Review*, XLIV (1956) No. 12, 18-23 (henceforth *Minister*), and

———, *Habib Bourguiba*, Tunis (?), SSI, 1958 (available in English, French, and Arabic, the latter published in 1957 under the title *Hayat al-Ra'is Buraqība*).

The platform prepared by the Neo-Destour (outlined in Ziadeh, *Africa*, p. 35) closely resembled that of the older party: the two differed primarily in terms of the mentality of their members and the dynamism of their programs Indeed, the popular agitation fomented by the Neo-Destour provoked strong countermeasures culminating in the exile of Bourguiba Following the advent to power of the French Popular Front, however, he returned to expand further what is described in Bagot, *Minister*, p 20, as an "immensely powerful mass movement forming cells in every village." Ancillary organizations, such as trade unions and youth brigades gave to the Neo-Destour the comprehensive appearance which has come to be perhaps its most distinctive feature. Feeling thus strengthened, the party leaders proclaimed a list of eight immediate demands (enumerated in Fasi, *op cit*, p. 69) and called a successful general strike This act coincided with the demise of the Blum régime; dashed hopes of moderate-nationalist participation in the Tunisian government; signalled the failure of conservative efforts to effect a reconciliation between the two wings of the nationalist movement; and marked the zenith of prewar Neo-Destour activism Accounts of this period, and of the French repression which followed, may be found in Fasi, *op. cit*, pp 67-72, Rivlin, *Evolution*, pp. 172-173, and Julien, *Islam*, pp. 690-692.

The Post-War Era

Although the Neo-Destour was officially dissolved in 1938 and an *état du siege* proclaimed when war broke out in Europe, the party continued (as did the Old Destour) its operations underground. It functioned openly only during the brief Nazi occupation of Tunisia The restoration of French authority resulted in the deposition of Bey Sidi Moncef on unsubstantiated charges of collaboration with the Axis, and the installation of a more subservient monarch Bourguiba withdrew to Cairo, much to the displeasure of the Arab League, while his lieutenant Salah bin Yusuf proceeded to reorganize the party for the coming postwar struggle The battle positions of both French and nationalist sides are briefly assessed in Calvocoressi, *op. cit*, pp. 267-268 and Rivlin, *Evolution*, pp. 174-176.

The opening volley was fired in 1946 by the Tunisian "National Congress," whose ringing manifesto called for complete independence. The text of this declaration may be found in Fasi, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-79, while other aspects of the Congress receive study in Ziadeh, *Africa* and *Land*, pp 36 and 5 respectively, and

Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (The Maghrib)*, London, Oxford for R I I A, 1959 (henceforth *Maghrib*)

The French (whose difficult position in North Africa is well summarized in Calvocoressi, *op. cit*, pp. 268-271) responded in 1947 with a series of reforms designed to broaden Tunisian participation in the protectorate administration A complete text of these decrees is provided in the *MEJ*, II (1948), 340, while an analysis may be found in

Vernon Mackay, "France's Future in North Africa," *MEJ* II (1948), 293-306

The 1950 Experiment

Bourguiba, having traveled widely to acquaint world opinion with Tunisia's case, and having through his moderation incurred the displeasure of the Arab League, returned to Tunis in September 1949. In view of the tremendous popular following of the Neo-Destour, it seems probable that he felt the time propitious to seek negotiations with the French. (The intense degree of party reorganization between 1945 and 1949 is commented upon in Bagot, *Minister*, p 22 and Calvocoressi, *op. cit.*, p. 272) Accordingly, in April he advanced the famous "seven demands" designed to attain Beylical self-government by a series of constitutional reforms References both to independence and pan-Arab solidarity were diplomatically minimized, as may be seen in the analysis of the seven points in Rivlin, *Evoluiton*, pp. 177-178 and

———, *Recent Developments in Tunisia (April 1950—May 1951)*, Paris, Neo-Destour, 1951, p. 18.

Liberal French circles found the demands reasonable; indeed it was to assure the support of these groups that Bourguiba visited Paris, where the government soon announced a new program of reforms.

These French proposals (outlined in Calvocoressi, *op cit*, p. 273 and Rivlin, *Evolution*, pp. 178-179) led in August to the famous "experiment" of 1950· the "Government of Negotiation" which has received considerable attention from Western writers. The Neo-Destour, despite its official proscription, coöperated enthusiastically with the new régime and supported the important reforms decreed on 8 February 1951. Their text may be found in

Benjamin Rivlin, "Tunisian Decrees of February 8, 1951," *MEJ*, V (1951), 354-359 (in French).

It was not long, however, before a combination of French obstructionism and Old Destour allegations of betrayal induced the Neo-Destour to abandon its collaborationist policy. A most competent account of this rather complex period is provided by Rivlin, *Evolution*, pp. 177-189, others are offered in Calvocoressi, *op. cit*, pp 272-275, Barbour, *Variations*, p. 315; and

Charles-André Julien, "Crisis and Reform in French North Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, XXX (1951), 447-451 (henceforth *Crisis*).

The role of the *colons* in the *impasse* is traced in

L. H Hahn, "Tunisia: A Challenge to American Foreign Policy," *Middle Eastern Affairs*, (henceforth *MEA*), V (1954), 160-162 (henceforth *Challenge*).

The Achievement of Autonomy

Relations between France, the *colons*, and the nationalists were equally complex in the years 1952 and 1953. Two main trends nevertheless seem obvious: the increasing internationalization of the "Tunisian question;" and the intensification of repressive measures within Tunisia The former is described in

H. C Atyeo, "Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria before the U.N," *MEA*, VI (1955), 229-248.

The domestic scene (including the imprisonment of Bourguiba) is sketched in Calvocoressi, *op.cit.*, pp. 276-280; Ziadeh, *Africa*, p 39, and rather sanguinely in

Farhat Hached, "Tunisian Workers Resist Colonial Oppression," *International Free Trade Union News*, June 1952, pp 1-3.

By the end of 1952, the French were in the ironic position of having to impose their proposed reforms by force while the nationalists judged these measures more by their provenance than by their content. A number of publications appeared during this period which illustrate the various points of view From France came several detailed expositions of the material progress achieved under the protectorate Of these, the following are representative:

Résidence Général de France à Tunis, *Soixante-dix Ans du Protectorat Français en Tunisie*, Tunis, Imprimerie Officiel, 1952,

———, *Développement Comparé de la Tunisie et des Pays du Moyen-Orient d'après les Statistiques de Nations-Unis*, Tunis, Imprimerie Officiel, 1952 (?),

———, *Maroc et Tunisie: le Problème du Protectorat*, Paris, Juillard, 1953 (La Nef, Nouvelle Serie, cahier 2); and

———, "72 Années de Collaboration Franco-Tunisienne," *Encyclopedie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, Paris, 1952

From the Neo-Destour came several tracts, the two below being a sample:

———, *The Tunisian Point of View on the Franco-Tunisian Negotiations*, New York, Tunisian Office of National Liberation (henceforth TONL), 1952, and

———, *The Tunisian Question· The Franco-Tunisian Negotiations through Documents (April 1950—September 1952)*, New York, TONL, 1952.

A third, published somewhat earlier, might well be read alongside French claims of economic progress under the protectorate:

———, *The Problem of Tunisia: II, The Economic Policy of the Protectorate*, Cairo, (Neo) Destour Party, 1948 (not available to the present writer).

Additional material is provided by the following less tendentious sources, of which the first is specially useful for its interviews with various nationalist leaders:

Roman Fajans, *Alerte en Afrique du Nord*, Paris, Peyronnet, 1953,

G H. Gerard, "Tunisia: The Road to Self-Government," *The Reporter*, 7 July, 1953, p 18; and

———, "Among Arab Movements," *The Nation*, 26 January, 1952, p 174;

Lepidi, J., *Les Problèmes Economiques et Sociaux de l'Afrique du Nord*, Tunis, Ecole Tunisienne d'Administration, 1952 (?).

Perhaps most useful of all for this period are two works by French liberals both sympathetic to the Neo-Destour, yet constructively critical in their appraisal

Charles-André Julien, *L'Afrique du Nord en Marche: Nationalismes Musulmans et Souveraineté Française*, Paris, Juillard, 1953 (henceforth *Marche*); and

Jean Rons, *Tunisie Attention!*, Paris, Deux Rives, 1952.

The year 1954 opened with continued violence in Tunisia, despite a number of significant reforms. These included the important cabinet changes described in *MEA*, V, (1954), 147, and in

———, "Major Political Reforms in Tunisia," *Tunisian Affairs*, March 1954 (published by the Information Service of the French Embassy, Washington).

In July, Premier Mendès-France pledged full internal autonomy once order was restored, the Neo-Destour therefore called for a ceasefire while the first all-Tunisian ministry was chosen The selection process is outlined in the *MEJ* Chronology, 1954 (a useful source for Tunisian events from roughly 1953 to the present) Franco-Tunisian autonomy negotiations began in September with Neo-Destour endorsation

and concluded in May 1955. Their course is traced in *MEJ*, IX (1955), 54-55;

Charles-André Julien, "The French North African Crisis," *World Today*, XI (1955), 509-519, and

Benjamin Rivlin, "Context and Sources of Political Tension in French North Africa," *The Annals* (of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,) 298 (March 1955), 109-116.

The substance of the Autonomy Convention may be found in

———, "Autonomy for Tunisia," *MEJ*, IX (1955), 311; and

Edmund Stevens, *North African Powder Keg*, New York, Coward-McCann, 1955;

while its text is reproduced in

Noe Ladhari, *Les Conventions Franco-Tunisiennes du 3 Juin 1955*, Tunis, Imprimerie du Nord, 1956.

The Achievement of Independence

The winning of home rule, however, did not mark the end of terrorism. The extremist faction within the Neo-Destour, led by Salah bin Yusuf and mysteriously linked with Cairo, rose in arms against the Bourguiba compromise. Bin Yusuf was expelled from the party at its first free mass meeting, the famous Sfax Congress of November 1955. Counter-subversive measures were undertaken, the implementation of which is traced in the *MEJ* Chronology, 1956-1957. The main function of the Congress nevertheless was to reorganize the party and "to re-think its structure and principles" (in the words of the official *Tunisia*, pp 31-33). Efforts toward this goal are recounted in

———, *Mu'tamar al-waṭanī bi Ṣafāqus min 15 ilā 19 Nūfimbar 1955*, n. p. (Tunis?), Neo-Destour Party, n.d.

The year 1956 was one of reinterpretation from outside Tunisia also. French publications of the period range from nostalgia for the beneficent protectorate to confusion and even to rather Marxian analysis. An example of each mood is given below.

P B. de Latour, *Vérités sur L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, Plon, 1956;

Bernard Lavergne, *Afrique du Nord et Afrique Noire*, Paris Larose, 1956; and

Abdoulaye Ly, *Les Masses Africaines et l'Actuelle Condition Humaine*, Paris, Editions Présence Africaine, 1956.

The possibilities of a Franco-North African confederation are examined in

Muhammad M. al-Farra, "The Aspirations of the People of French North Africa," *The Annals*, 306 (July 1956), 10-16; and in

———, "France in North Africa: Federation or Departure," *Roundtable*, 183 (June 1956), 230-235;

while the Tunisian situation receives more general treatment in

W. L. Middleton, "Problems of France," *Contemporary Review*, 190 (October 1956), 209-212;

L. G. Cowan, "North Africa: Nationalism's Background," in William Sands, ed., *Tensions in the Middle East*, Washington, Middle East Institute, 1956, pp. 18-22; and

A Vinay, "Le Nouveau Gouvernement Tunisien," *Revue de l'Action Populaire*, 94 (January 1956), 50-56.

Yet the outstanding study of the year was

Felix Garas, *Bourguiba et la Naissance d'une Nation*, Paris, Julliard, 1956; published in Arabic as *Abū Raqībah wa mawlad ummah*, Tunis, Neo-Destour, 1957,

which presents the nationalist movement as the personal struggle of Bourguiba, and carries the story as far as the achievement of independence.

This independence was assured by the Franco-Tunisian Agreement of 20 March. Both text and analysis may be found, respectively, in:

Benjamin Rivlin, "French-Tunisian Agreement on Tunisian Independence," *Current History*, XXXI (July, 1956), 52; and

"Tunisia and Independence," *MEJ*, X (1956), 269-270. At the same time, Tunisia underwent both the throes of her first national election campaign and the harrying of Bin Yusuf's "National Liberation Army." The rebel leader is studied in some detail in Garas, *op.cit.*, pp. 269-270. All seats in the Constituent Assembly were won by the Neo-Destour's National Front Candidates, and Bourguiba was requested by the Bey to form a ministry. Both events are recorded in *Tunisia*, pp. 39-45. Independent Tunisia then embarked upon the

dual course along which she proceeds today: internal reform and adjustment of relations with France.

THE REPUBLIC OF TUNISIA

The Reform Program

Several social studies may be cited as providing background material to a survey of social reform in Tunisia. Of these perhaps the most useful are.

J. I. Clarke, "The Population of Tunisia· An Example of Contact between Modern Civilisation and the Moslem World," and "Summer Nomadism in Tunisia," *Economic Geography,* XXVIII (1952), 364-371 and XXXI (1955), 157-167;

Jacques Klein, *La Tunisie,* Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1949;

Paul Sebag, *La Tunisie· Essai de Monographie,* Paris, Editions Sociales, 1951, and

Michel Zeraffa, *Tunisie,* Paris, Editions du Sevil, 1955.

More recent accounts, containing references to the reforms themselves, may be found in.

A. Demeerseman, *Tunisie Sève Nouvelle,* Paris, Castesman, 1957;

Jean Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord,* Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1958; and

Salah-Eddine Tlatli, *Tunisie Nouvelle, Problèmes et Perspectives,* Tunis, Imprimerie Sefan, 1957.

Useful summaries of government welfare projects are offered in Barbour, *Maghrib,* pp. 323-340, and *Tunisia,* pp 66-67; while official publications (usually in Arabic) are numerous The following three indicate something of the reasoning behind the reform program: Habīb Būraqībah (Abū Raqībah, Bourguiba), *Nadj al-Sha'bī'imād,* Tunis, 1956,

———, *Jīl qawī salīm,* Tunis, State Secretariat for Health and Welfare, 1957, and

———, *Deux Mois de Gouvernement Bourguiba,* (Tunis?), SSI, 1956

Background to the daunting problem of popular education may be found in

———, *Symposium on Popular Education: French North Africa* . . Leiden, Afrika Institut, 1953.

Reforms in this field are summarized in

E. G. Knight, "Education in French North Africa," *Islamic Quarterly,* II (1955), 294-308; and

M. Lelong, "Aspects Nouveaux de l'Enseignement Superieur en Tunisie," *Ibla,* XX (1957), 37-43.

Finally, projects for youth (who comprise half the Tunisian population) are praised in the two official publications

———, *Hazā'ir al-Shabāb,* Tunis, State Secretariat for Youth and Sport, 1957; and

———, *La Tunisie est un Pays Jeune,* Tunis, SSI, n d

Equally daunting are the problems to be faced in the economic sphere. Background material here may be found in many of the general works previously cited, but the outstanding study is

Jean Vibert, *Tableau de l'Économie Tunisienne,* Tunis, . . , 1956

The economic plan adopted at the Sfax Congress is described in Ziadeh, *Africa,* pp 42-49 and

L. H. Hahn, "Tunisia in Transition," *MEA,* VII (1956), 135-137 (henceforth *Transition*)

A gloomy account of its implementation is offered by

Edmond Taylor, "North Africa: The Price of Independence," *The Reporter,* 10 January 1957, 12-15.

Most official publications stress the role of the National Planning Council, as in:

———, *Le Conseil National du Plan,* (Tunis?), SSI, 1958;

———, *Tunisia: A New Era,* Washington, Tunisian Embassy, n d ;

———, *Tunisie, d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui* (Tunis?), SSI, 1958

Finally, Bourguiba himself has published two essays dealing with economic matters

Habib Būraqība, *Kayf nafham al-ta'āwun al-iqiṣādī?* and *Naḥw al-taḥarrur al-iqtiṣādī,* both published in Tunis by the SSI, 1957

The Governmental System

On June 1, 1959, a new Constitution was approved for the Republic. A documentary article on the text is to be found in "The Tunisian Constitution, *MEJ* XIII, pp. 443-448.

The abolition of the Beyship is described in

G. Neville-Bagot, "The Birth of a Republic in the World of Islam," *Islamic Review*, XLIV (1957) No. 10, 33-34 (henceforth *Republic*).

Perhaps the other most important legal document yet promulgated is the secular Code of Personal Status, applicable to all Tunisians since August 1957 Its text is fully reproduced in *MEJ*, XI (1957), 309-318 and in M T es-Snoussi, *Code du Statut Personnel Annotée*, Tunis, ———, 1957 (with a preface by the Minister of Justice). A brief official explanation may be found in *Tunisia*, p 63 The lines along which the judicial system has been thoroughly reorganized are traced in Barbour, *Maghrib*, pp 310-312 and *Tunisia*, pp 49 and 62 These same sources (pp 310 and 62 respectively) characterize general administrative reforms as designed to increase efficiency and stability Also described therein are local governmental units and their functions.

In addition, these two works are among the very few in English that describe the executive and legislative organs, the army, and the press. In Barbour, *Maghrib*, pp 308-309, the powers of the presidency and the legislature are touched upon, in *Tunisia*, pp 46-50, the personalities in and functions of the Council of Ministers are sketched A description of the army may be found in *Tunisia*, pp 53–54, and an outline of the press in Barbour, *Maghrib*, pp 317-319.

The National Unions

Among the most distinctive characteristics of modern Tunisia are the five National Unions To cite *Tunisia*, pp 76-79, each defends the interests of its own members, yet all are "grouped around the focal point of the Neo-Destour" Of the five, the UGTT (General Union of Tunisian Workers) is at once the oldest and the most important A perceptive study of this organization may be found in

W. H Lewis, "The New Nomadism in North Africa," *MEJ*, XI (1957), 269-281

Additional information is provided by Rivlin, *Evolution*, 175-176 American trade union support for the UGTT is mentioned in

L. M Hahn, "French North Africa· An American Problem," *Western Political Quarterly*, VIII (1955), 186-198; and in

Thomas Hodgkin, "France and the Maghreb," *Current History*, XXXIV (1958), 75-83

An example of Tunisian solicitation of this support is provided by

Bahi Ladgham, *Farhat Hached Tunisian Labour Leader, Patriot, Martyr*, New York, TONL, 1953.

Lastly, the political views of certain Tunisian labor leaders, and their abortive attempt to create an opposition socialist party, is described in *Tunisia*, p. 76, Barbour, *Maghrib*, p 306; and

Peter Partner, "Bourguiba A Different Kind of Arab," *Harper's Magazine*, October 1957 (available to the writer as a reprint)

The other National Unions have received far less attention. UNAT (the farmers' union, and successor to UGAT) is briefly described in *Tunisia*, pp 67, 73 and 79; and Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p 79 UTAC (the craft and commercial union) and UGET (the student union) both receive passing mention in *Tunisia*, p 79 No information is available to the writer concerning the recently formed National Union of Tunisian Women

The Neo-Destour

The Neo-Destour is undoubtedly the most effective political party on the African Continent and probably the best organized in the entire Middle East This is due partly to the egalitarian nature of Tunisian society and partly to the long period of gestation of the party itself. Perhaps most important, however, is its system of organization and technique of operation Its 350,000 members are divided among roughly 2,000 local cells, from which a pyramidal structure ascends to the highest organ, the Politbureau. Closely associated with the party are the "organismes annexes" such as youth groups and the National Unions. Studies of this tightly-knit system may be found in Barbour, *Maghrib*, pp 316-317; Hahn, *Challenge*, p 161, Julien, *Islam*, pp 689-690; Rivlin, *Evolution*, p 176; and *Tunisia*, p. 73.

THE IDEOLOGY OF TUNISIA

The Official "Bourguibisme"

The philosophy of the Tunisian nationalist movement is often described in official publications as "Bourguibisme." Its distinctive features are said to be liberalism, nationalism, gradualism, a broadly European mentality, and a number of other aspects, described for example in Rivlin, *Evolution*, pp 191-192; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81; and Partner, *op. cit.*, pp 1-4. An almost Fabian flavor may be detected in the official definition in *Tunisia*, p. 46 This last impression is reinforced by a reading of Bourguiba's various speeches and essays, of which the following are representative:

Habib Būraqībah, *Ḥadīth al-jum'ah: arḍ li kull al-khutab wa al-kalimāt* . . . (li) *al-Ḥabīb Būraqībah bayn 8 Afrīl 1956 wa 20 Mārs 1957*, Tunis, Maṭba'at al-'Amal, 1957;

———, *Ḥurrīyah usas al-mas'ulīyah*, Tunis, . . . , 1956,

———, *Iṣlāḥ mā fasad, wa taqwīm mā a'wajj wa banā'mā hadamah 'ahd 'al-istībad*, Tunis, . . , 1956;

———, *Khutab al-usbū'īyah li al-Ra'īs Būraqībah*, Tunis Matba'ah al-Rasmiyah, 1957— (a continuing series); and

———, *Majmū'at Khuṭab, Uktūbar 3 ilā Dīsambar 11, 1958*, Tunis, Kitābat al-Dawlah li al-Akhbār wa al-Irshād (or SSI), 1958.

Two other official publications of interest here are:

———, *Ra'īs yuḥaddithukum* and *Tunis tastakmil siyādatihā*, both published in Tunis in 1957 by the Kitābat al-Dawlah li al-Akhbār wa al-Irshād (SSI).

Tunisian foreign policy is one of the most widely known facets of Bourguibism. Brief outlines of its development may be found in Barbour, *Maghrib*, pp. 313-315, and Partner, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6. Analyses of the most fundamental attitudes are provided in Barbour, *Year*, pp. 241-244; Rivlin, *Evolution*, pp. 191-192; and

Thomas Hammerton, *Tunisia Unveiled*, London, Hale, 1959, pp. 16-18.

A number of official pamphlets have been issued, of which the following two are representative:

Habib Bourguiba, *La Doctrine Eisenhower et la Tunisie*, (Tunis?), SSI, n.d.; and

———, *Tunisia: First Steps in the U.N.*, New York, Tunisian Permanent Delegation to the U.N., (1956?).

Most valuable of all is a collection of Bourguiba's writings which deals primarily with Franco-Tunisian relations, but provides considerable insight into the President's concept of sovereignty, foreign policy, and negotiation generally.

Habib Bourguiba, *La Tunisie et la France: Vingt-cinq Ans de Lutte pour une Coöpération Libre*, Paris, Juillard, 1954

This volume is equally useful on the domestic plane, for Bourguiba deals at length with problems of social unity, self-government, and reform Although its organization leaves much to be desired, this collection of speeches, letters and the like provides considerable insight into the development of the Neo-Destour. Lastly and more recently, the President has published a definition of the Tunisian position in the world community in general and between east and west in particular. The title indicates its theme:

Habib Bourguiba, "Nationalism: Antidote to Communism," *Foreign Affairs*, XXXV (1957), 646-653 (available in reprint from Imprimerie La Rapide, Tunis, 1957).

The Traditions of Religion and Race

It is often suggested that North African Muslims may for purposes of discussion be divided into three groups. These—traditionalist, reformist, and modernist—are described in the introduction to Julien, *Marche*, and compared in

Roger Le Tourneau, "North Africa: Rigorism and Bewilderment," in G. E. von Grunebaum, ed., *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp 231-260.

Leading circles in both the Tunisian government and the Neo-Destour are of course drawn from the modernist group. Their major problem—that of retaining Islamic essentials while building a modern and secular national life—is briefly discussed in Rivlin, *Africa*, pp. 345-

347. The absence of religious xenophobia among the élite prompts comment in Partner, *op. cit.*, p. 3, and Rivlin, *Evolution*, p. 190. Racial chauvinism is equally conspicuous by its absence. The as yet unresolved relationship between Tunisian nationalism and Arabism generally is touched upon in the introduction to Julien, *Marche*, and in Rivlin, *Africa*, pp. 347-348, while the individuality of Tunisian historical experience is stressed in Barbour, *Year* and *Maghrib*, pp. 243 and 288-298 respectively.

The Problem of "Yusufisme"

These two foci, Islam and Arabism, have provided the rallying points for those opposed to the Bourguiba régime. The sole exception to this would appear to be the socialist element in the UGTT, whose activities are sketched in

Alex M. Westfried, "Turning Point in Tunisia," *Lands East*, I (February 1956), 18-21.

The existence of an *haute bourgeoisie* nervous of proletarian ambitions is noted in Julien, *Islam* p. 690, and

Virginia Monroe, "Has France a Case in Tunisia?," *Virginia Quarterly*, XXIX (1953), 1-17.

An interesting official attack on this group may be found in *Tunisia*, pp 19-20; and attempts by the Neo-Destour to incorporate it within the mass nationalist movement are described in Barbour, *Maghrib*, p 316.

The major challenge to Bourguibism, however, has come from Salah bin Yusuf, who in the name of Islam and Arabism led Tunisia in 1956 to the brink of civil war. His ideology—"Yusufisme"—is outlined in Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p 81, and his activities in Garas, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-280 and Westfried, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20. His connection with Egypt is mentioned in *MEJ*, X (1956), 269-270. Lastly, a by now rather dated interview with bin Yusuf may be found in

Robin Maugham, *North African Notebook*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1949

Two analyses of the five or six political "tendencies" evident in Tunisia, useful in assessing the stability of the present régime, are provided by Tourneau, *op. cit.*, p. 355 and Westfried, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. These might well be read along with studies of the broader cultural influences obtaining in Tunisia. Three outstanding items dealing with this theme are:

Yves Chatelain, *La Vie Litteraire et Intellectuelle en Tunisie: de 1900 à 1937*, Paris, Librairie Orientaliste, 1937;

M. Lelong, "Culture Arabe et Culture Occidentale dans la Tunisie d'Aujourd'hui," *Ibla*, XIX (1956).

Benjamin Rivlin, "Cultural Conflict in French North Africa," *The Annals*, 306 (July 1956), 4-9

The Question of Maghrib Unity

This bibliographical outline has not attempted to compare the national movements in the three North African territories. Two items might nevertheless be mentioned as introductory to any study of Tunisian attitudes towards unification of the Maghrib. These are Barbour, *Variations*, *in toto* and Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-80. The interest expressed by Bourguiba in a North African federation and the obstacle thereto posed by Algeria, are described in Kenworthy, *op. cit*, p 2, and Partner, *op cit.*, p. 4. Several official publications deal with the question, the three below being representative:

——, *La Conference de l'Unité*, Tunis, SSI, 1958,

——, *Le Drame des Réfugiés Algériens en Tunisie*, available also in Arabic as *Ma'sat al-lāji'īn al-jazā'iriyīn wa fadihat al-mintaqah al-harām*, both published in 1958 in Tunis by the SSI; and

——, *Six Mois de Gouvernement Bourguiba* (L'Action Diplomatique, 4ème fascicule), Tunis, SSI, n d.

GENERAL

THE MIDDLE EAST: A HISTORY, by Sydney Nettleton Fisher. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1959 650 pages. $8.95.

Reviewed by Harry N. Howard

An authoritative, solid, general history of the Middle East, whether for the university student or the general reader, has long been

needed. Dr. Fisher, Professor of History at The Ohio State University, has now provided an excellent volume, which covers the story from the most ancient of days substantially down to the current scene.

After a brief "geographic prologue" and a discussion of "pre-Islamic politics and society in the Middle East," the author plunges into his basic account Essentially the work is divided into four parts, the first of which treats of the origins and expansion of Islam, with the advent of the Prophet, the establishment of the Muslim State, the evolution of Islam and the great Arabic cultural heritage Part II treats of the growth and decline of the Ottoman Empire, while Part III is devoted to European Imperialism in the Modern Middle East, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Part IV is concerned with the Contemporary Middle East, roughly from the so-called First World War to the present Here one reads of the Paris Conference (1919), the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, roughly in accord with the secret agreements of 1915-1917, and the emergence of the new nation-States in the Middle East

Dr. Fisher's discussion of Middle Eastern nationalism is perceptive and penetrating Chapters 32 and 40 probe deeply into the persistent problem of Palestine A final chapter on "The World Interest in the Middle East" raises a host of fundamental questions Dr. Fisher well notes that "to win the Middle East" will require "the winning of the Middle Eastern peoples," and he adds· "Until 1950 the future of Westernization of the Middle East could hardly be doubted By 1958 the future of the Middle East had become less certain"

The Middle East is critical, well-written, well-organized, and well-balanced Written with perception and understanding, based on sound research and scholarship, it should be on the book shelves of all those interested in the Middle East, and especially of those who want a convenient, one-volume history of the area Good maps and good bibliographies, at the end of each chapter, add much to the usefulness of the work

◆ Harry N. Howard, Beirut, Lebanon

One Day in the World's Press: Fourteen Great Newspapers on a Day of Crisis, edited with an introduction and commentary, by Wilbur Schramm. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959. 138 pages. Paper, $6 95

Reviewed by Marschal D. Rothe, Jr.

Thomas Jefferson once wrote that were he given the choice between a government without newspapers and newspapers without a government he would not hesitate "to prefer the latter" In this unusual book, it is frequently difficult to tell one from the other, despite the superb annotations of its editor. But that very difficulty of distinction was a principal reason for publication of this fascinating study which presents in translated facsimiles the foreign news pages of 14 "prestige" newspapers from around the world, as they appeared on November 2, 1956

The date is a benchmark in the tides of history for the French-British-Israeli attack on Egypt was by then fully mounted, and, around Budapest, Soviet tanks were ranged in a tightening ring of steel that was to crush the Hungarian freedom fighters' revolt

That the papers of the Eastern bloc, such as *Rude Pravo* (approximately "Red Right") of Prague, or *Pravda* in Moscow, or *Jen-Min Jin-Pao* ("The People's Daily"), of Peking would set down the Hungarian revolt as the manifestation of foreign and fascist interference is not surprising, and that the same papers would regard the Suez invasion as fresh evidence of imperialistic and Zionist designs upon Egypt is equally hackneyed commentary

Also predictable is the tone of the *New York Times* editorially deploring the "grave Egyptian provocations" which it considers led to the Suez attacks and bemoaning the Security Council's inability to make Egypt lift its blockade of Israeli shipping

What is infinitely more interesting are the performances of the London *Times*, torn between its quasi-official role and a British conscience, of Cairo's *Al-Ahram*, attempting under military and political censorship to explain what was happening at its doorstep, or of such a "grey area" paper as Yugoslavia's communist party paper, *Borba* ("The Struggle"). The

latter, by the way, seems to have had the ambivalent presence of mind to acknowledge on page one the U.S. resolution against Suez aggression but in the same article to say that "Anglo-American" bombers had that day made 21 attacks on Egypt.

Editor Schramm's effort holds few surprises in its delineation of treatment by these wordly papers, although certainly there are shadings apparent that might have been passed over by the student of international affairs or the international press His real contribution, and that of his sponsors, is in the development of a new technique—an unbelievably detailed and tedious job of translating newspapers of many languages into English and then reconstructing them into the form of their approximate original makeup without losing either the flavor of headline, text or "news play."

There are small points of unusual interest: rumor flooding Egypt as *Al-Ahram* went to press, the *New York Times'* overoptimistic coverage of the Hungarian struggle, the Tokyo paper *Asahi* ("The Rising Sun") politely but forcefully slapping the Suez invaders' wrists, Warsaw's *Trybuna Ludu* ("Tribune of the People") expressing far more sympathy for Hungarian brothers, under acknowledged "erroneous" leadership, than in concern over the British-French-Israeli action against Egypt.

In capsule, this unique compilation might be said to dramatize the frustrations of Eastern and Western editors as long as the cold war continues and as long as their typewriters and presses respond to the rhythms of opinion—controlled or free What is left to one's imagination is the frustration of their readers, for many of whom truth is those things they do not find in the columns of their daily paper

◊ Marschal D Rothe, Jr., is Managing Director of the Middle East Institute.

The Tide of Nationalism, by Abba Eban. New York: Horizon Press, 1959 62 pages $2.00

Reviewed by Fayez A. Sayegh

"Israel and the Arab world must find a way to each other's comprehension and ultimate trust," writes Mr. Eban in *The Tide of Nationalism* But the booklet itself can by no standard be pronounced a step in that direction.

Far from being a serious contribution to the understanding of Arab or Israeli nationalism, or an earnest search for their respective meanings, values and defects, the booklet appears to be inspired primarily by a passion for discrediting the one in its entirety and lauding the other without qualification or reservation

The author succeeds in crowding within the few pages of this small book all the anti-Arab themes which have become the stock-in-trade of Zionist propaganda in the past decade; if any anti-Arab theme escapes, the reader may safely assume that the omission has been inadvertently made When Mr Eban lays down his brush, the portrait of Arab nationalism which emerges is that of a monster raging with "hate" and "savage grievance," obsessed with a "perverse insistence on settling accounts," distinguished by "lack of altruism" and "aggressiveness" and bent on "dominating" and "subverting" its "peace-loving neighbors" (Israel's invasion of Egypt in 1956 is elegantly described as "Israel's successful resistance to Nasserism") The Arab World is described as debilitated not only by backwardness but also by utter "social apathy" on the part of its leaders; far-reaching measures of social, economic, and educational progress, initiated in the Arab states in the past decade, are passionately denied.

Side by side with this grotesque Arab monster, in Mr Eban's mural of the Middle East, stands the innocent and charming figure of Israel benevolent and altruistic, small but triumphant, its nationalism animated by "an intense spirituality" and a "universal mission·" "We cannot escape a particular vocation arising from a special lineage. Israel's nationalism is more than a political movement It is a faith; a religion, a culture, a civilization" Mr. Eban does admit the possibility that some blemishes on the face of Israel may be seen by some unkind eyes In fact, of the 7000 words which constitute his diatribe against Arab nationalism, he manages to spare no less than eleven words for making the outstanding admission that "Israeli nationalism faces some problems similar to those of its neighbors." But, whereas in his tirade against Arab nationalism he focuses on the warts instead of the face, in

his laudation of Israeli nationalism his emphasis is laid solely on "the unique attributes." As might be expected, Mr. Eban's eulogy of Israel reaches its climactic *finale* with an analogy between Zionist pioneers and America's Pilgrim Fathers.

The present reviewer can think of no better commentary on the dual standards of judgment and appraisal employed by the author in discussing Arab and Israeli nationalism than a passage written by Mr. Eban himself in the introductory sections of the booklet under review at the preliminary stage where Mr. Eban was still reflecting on nationalism in general and cautioning his readers against certain temptations:

"By a typical psychic attitude nations which had consolidated their liberty looked condescendingly on the struggles of those who had not yet reached the shore . . The word 'narrow' became the conventional epithet of nationalism. *It was always the nationalism of other nations that was narrow. The concept was associated with its own excesses.* First the face of nationalism was painted 'with its warts;' and then the original face disappeared entirely and only the blemishes remained *This optical maneuver still persists in many places.*" (Emphasis added)

Could it be that Mr Eban has succumbed to the very temptation against which he so eloquently has warned his reader?

◈ FAYEZ A. SAYEGH is author of *Arab Unity: Hope and Fulfillment* and *Understanding the Arab Mind*, as well as several booklets on Arab-Israeli relations

ARAB WORLD

THE HASHEMITE KINGS, by James Morris New York: Pantheon Books, 1959. 208 pages $4.50.

JORDAN: A STATE OF TENSION, by Benjamin Shwadran. New York: Council for Middle Eastern Affairs Press, 1959 426 pages. $7.50.

Reviewed by Richard F. S. Starr

In *The Hashemite Kings*, the first of the two books here under review, the author adheres to the boundaries set by his title, treating in detail the role of each, starting with Husayn ibn 'Ali, Grand Sharif of Mecca who in 1916 emerged as King of the Hijaz and titular leader of the British-inspired Arab revolt against the Turks, and ending with the present Husayn, ruler of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Each is presented in relation not only to his action on the stage of Near Eastern history but to the varied geographic and political settings against which his role is played. Father, sons, grandsons, and great grandsons, to borrow the author's chapter headings, all receive their due from Mr. Morris's versatile pen, though the ebullient 'Abdallah, first ruler of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, most captured his imagination.

Mr. Morris, as a British subject, views the commanding role that Britain played in the Hashemite drama with frank, but not uncritical, respect. He is equally frank in disclaiming pretense toward profound scholarship, relying instead largely on familiar sources of established authority. As a journalist his goal has been to fashion a readable, sympathetic, and substantially accurate account of the modern Hashemites. He has been eminently successful in achieving that goal. His style is brilliant, and one would have to look far to find a more absorbing introduction to this complex topic.

In *Jordan: A State of Tension* the author has endeavored to limit his attention to Jordan as a geographical area, recounting in detail the historical succession of events within that area with a minimum of distraction from collateral events transpiring in neighboring regions. His coverage extends from the Bronze Age to the present, with the preponderance of the text pertaining to events dealing with the rise and rule of 'Abdallah following World War I. As in the case of the work previously reviewed (*The Hashemite Kings*), the author is intrigued by the personality of 'Abdallah, and his treatment of him is one of sympathy and understanding.

The book's most conspicuous virtue is at the same time one of its salient faults; namely, a proliferation and reiteration of detail far beyond normal needs. This, combined with a tendency toward imprecise generalizations, mar the value of the work. As an example of the latter

one might cite the author's statement about Jordan and Israel in the period immediately after the armistice, "—neither Britian nor the United States took any step to bring about peace, or at least a *modus vivendi* between these two states—," which flies directly in the face of established fact.

Perhaps the most serious fault is the unwillingness of the author to admit to the compelling role in shaping the social and political tensions of modern Jordan played by Zionism and the emergence of Israel. It is almost incredible, for example, that a book otherwise so detailed could omit anything other than passing reference to the Arab refugees who in Jordan alone make up a third of the national population The book suffers also from the lack of an adequate map of modern Jordan. It has numerous typographical errors which, however, do not interfere with general intelligibility except in those cases where whole lines appear to have been omitted.

◊ RICHARD F. S. STARR, Alexandria, Virginia.

HISTORY AND TRIBES OF JORDAN, by Frederick G Peake Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1958 229 pages. Charts and maps to 253. $6.00.

Reviewed by Charlotte Morehouse

Colonel Peake's extensive notes compiled during his twenty years of distinguished military service in the then Amirate of Transjordan, have now been made available to scholars. The work comprises two discontinuous and completely unrelated parts approximately equal in length The first section is the brief history of Jordan from prehistoric to modern times (in this case, to 1956) that has become almost a standard item with authors on this small but eventful country. Most writers, however, are tempted by the romantic aspects of this long historic panorama; in this case, the approach is more scholarly. A full twenty-seven pages of notes—some personal speculations, which may evoke the disagreement of historians, others noting discrepancies—reveal acquaintance with a wide range of sources from Al-Tabari and Josephus to Rostovtzeff, Alois Musil, and Gertrude Bell.

The real and original contribution, however, lies in Part II, which is a tabulation of tribes, sub-tribes, and, in some cases, allied or attached groups, listed by the Jordanian administrative district of their residence. Each is accompanied by notes on the tribal origins according to their own oral tradition, and on their links to other extended-family groups within and outside Jordan. In a setting where family allegiance and alignments are still paramount and affect every other relationship in every sphere of activity, this sort of systematically arranged data can be extremely useful. Because it does meet the needs of many students of social and political phenomena, as well as history, it is regrettable that Colonel Peake did not undertake, with the help of his still-extensive contacts in Jordan, to bring up to date the tribal material as well as adding to the history. For time does move on and people do not "stay put." In particular, the movement of several sizeable tribes and clans, by choice and by expulsion, from ancestral lands now within Israel to Jordan has necessitated some rearrangement of *diras* in the now-expanded Jordan. The West Bank territories, of course, are omitted entirely. As an example of the difficulties that flow from this: several clans of the important al-Ghazzawiya are recorded as living "in Palestine" when, in current fact, the whole tribe has removed east of the Jordan Similarly, the al-Ghawarinah are now west of al-Mazar along the Wadi al-Hasa and the south shore of the Dead Sea, having given place on the *lisan* to some more recent immigrants Redefinition of several internal boundaries has also shifted the district assignable to several villages and hence their families.

The listings give no indication of the size or relative importance of these kinship groups, and in this context the listing of subordinate clans or sections can be misleading. The al-Baqain of Karak, for instance, with three listed sections, look much more impressive on paper than on the ground. Perhaps more serious is the lack of any indication of whether the group in question is settled, semi-settled, or fully nomadic, even as of the period of writing (and sedentarization has proceeded a good way in twenty years). The Majali are, after all, the family of the present Prime Minister of Jordan and the Chief of Staff of its army, who are far

from tent-dwellers. On a less familiar level, a reader might be disconcerted to find the Lutfi or Sunnāa' families (to take other examples from Karak) substantial, landowning, middle-class townspeople in very pleasant, Western-style houses. The presence of a section entitled "Beduins" and limited, quite rightly, to the principal camel-raising peoples, only confuses matters further, for portions of some of the major camel tribes are now semi-settled, which is noted, yet their separate category might raise the supposition that all the others are sedentary —not so the Liyathnya and many others

The tribal information is accompanied by several genealogical tables and three maps covering the area between the Jordan river and the railway which, due to the changes mentioned and others, should be used with caution

These deficiencies will be unlikely to mislead the expert, who will be very glad to have available much valuable information, distilled from long and intimate association. The traditional family histories in particular, as the preface remarks, are rapidly disappearing and deserve to be preserved in print for present and future ethnologists The casual reader will find little of interest unless he is a lover of folklore or of genealogical intricacies

◇ CHARLOTTE MOREHOUSE, Arlington, Virginia

SAUDI ARABIA: ITS PEOPLE, ITS SOCIETY, ITS CULTURE (No 4 in the Survey of World Cultures), by George A. Lipsky in collaboration with Moukhtar Ani, Mildred C. Bigelow, F Gillen, Shiela C Gillen, Thomas J Larson, A T. J Matthews, and Charles H Royce New Haven HRAF Press, 1959 312 pages Tables, bibliography, index to 367. $7.00.

Reviewed by William E Mulligan

In 1956 Harry W. Hazard and a research staff of four prepared a handbook on Saudi Arabia, one of the series of studies of various areas written for the United States Government under a contract held by Human Relations Area Files, Inc., (HRAF) of New Haven. Despite severe time restrictions and a mandatory format which did not prove very satisfactory for the subject, Hazard and his colleagues compiled a valuable and lively booklet, one which many specialists in the area joined Hazard in hoping might be revised, expanded, and brought up to date at a more leisurely pace HRAF subsequently engaged George A Lipsky and a staff of seven to bring out this revised and expanded edition, the fourth of the original handbooks to be reworked and offered to the public in a series called the Survey of World Cultures Books on Poland, Jordan, and Iraq have already appeared.

The book on Saudi Arabia is a compendium of information of a social anthropological nature and, as such, is going to be used and quoted. It is, therefore, regrettable that the book is no better than it is. The specialist will have to use it with caution, and the non-specialist will hardly find the work particularly appealing

Two of four sketch maps provided (there are no other illustrations) give surprisingly little information and much of that is incorrect The *bibliography is a curious mixture of* sources, including an unpublished term paper, oil company handouts, and one entry listed as "Various Saudi Arabian newspapers, 1957" Several titles listed under "Recommended Reading" are repeated under a division of the bibliography labeled "Other Useful Sources"

Two chapters of highly compressed historical and geographical background fail to be either accurate or entertaining It is historically inaccurate, for example, to write of 'Abd al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud (p 10) as "retaining Mohammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab as his religious adviser" Muscat is not a British Protectorate (p. 16) The Dahna and other sand regions listed on page 21 do not "constitute barriers to tribal movement and migration." And what is one to make of the statement on page 23 that "the coast [of the Eastern Province] is low and flat with sand dunes separating it from the desert"?

The subjects covered and the emphasis given them are presumably dictated by the need to comply with a uniform format designed for convenient cross-cultural references within the series. This results in eight pages being devoted to "Diffusion and Control of Information," despite the authors' admission that mass

communications media exist only on a small scale in Saudi Arabia; while only twelve pages are devoted to Islam in general and in Saudi Arabia in particular

The sections on politics, government, and economy contain much useful information, but here, as is inevitable in a work of this nature, much of the material was out of date before the manuscript reached the printer. The authors, who correctly emphasize the changing nature of so many Saudi Arabian institutions, have done their best to include changes as late as some of those that occurred in the first half of 1958; but they have also been guilty of referring to past events and situations as happening or valid "today" (*e g* the reference on page 246 to the number of airports)

Material on the attitudes, behavior, and values of the people of Saudi Arabia is a synthesis of facts and inferences, although the latter are not always so identified It is here that the specialist is particularly frustrated by the lack of citations He wants to know if the authority for a statement is a scholar with years of research behind him or a journalist who spent a few hours between planes interviewing a foreign driller, which is not to say that journalists and drillers are never good sources The sections containing this material are, nevertheless, the most reliable and best written parts of the book

It would be unfair to imply that an unfriendly and patronizing attitude pervades the text, but the inclusion of lines such as the following from page 139 cannot help but discredit the book

> The atmosphere in which foreign policy is conducted in Saudi Arabia, as elsewhere in the Arab world, is very different from that of the West Slander, mendacity, and treachery are commonplace Bribery and assassination are almost recognized weapons of foreign policy Reports of bribing and buying newspapers in neighboring Arab countries, especially in Syria and Lebanon, are common Treaties are signed and then disregarded without formal repudiation Internal revolts are encouraged by all disputing parties in attempts to change the foreign policies of their neighbors

"Slander," indeed!

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NORTH AFRICA

ALGERIA IN TURMOIL: A HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, by Michael K. Clark. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959. xvi + 466 pages. Maps. $6.00

Reviewed by Benjamin Rivlin

Michael K Clark, a *New York Times* correspondent formerly stationed in North Africa, has written a long and polemical book on the equally long and controversial Algerian rebellion In it he claims to have pursued the "goal of analytical, rather than merely descriptive objectivity." By this, he says, he means to "seize the meaning of events and to anticipate their consequences" The result is a curiously partisan book. What is curious about it is that the author, in trying to "seize the meaning of events" while more or less succeeding in putting his finger correctly on the underlying causes of the unhappy Algerian problem, has not followed through on their implications No one who has delved into the Algerian problem can avoid noting, as Clark has, that the Algerian problem involves (1) the disturbance of the traditional Algerian Muslim society and culture under the impact of Western civilization introduced into the area by France, and (2) the clash between two communities—French and Muslim—rooted in the same soil Having noted this, Clark has not gone on to analyze objectively the various conflicting interests and clashing viewpoints inherent in the Algerian scene. He has not done what the publishers claim he has done (and what should be done), that is to give a "complete analysis of the political, religious, and ethnic realities that underlie the present Algerian struggle" Instead he has presented a one-sided analysis. He molds facts, by highlighting some and disregarding others, to conform to his partisan needs, and he liberally sprinkles the book with *non-sequiturs* and editorial asides towards the same end.

Mr. Clark's heroes are the European minority, settlers and descendants of settlers, who are painted as misunderstood and badgered innocent victims of circumstances beyond their control The leading knight in shining armor is

Jacques Soustelle. Mr. Clark's villains are the diabolic Arab Nationalists and the unscrupulous French liberals and the misguided Westernized Algerian Muslims. These villains have conspired against the best interests of Algeria by opposing the preservation of the vested interests of the European inhabitants. They have duped the Algerian masses into supporting the rebellion against French rule.

One of the basic flaws in Mr. Clark's argument is his contention that the European minority was prepared to redress admitted wrongs prior to the outbreak of the Muslim rebellion in 1954 There is no evidence to support this contention. Most Europeans in Algeria have steadfastly opposed any change in the *status-quo.* Clark would have us believe that this was due not only to fear of being inundated by the Muslim majority, but to genuine concern for the well-being of the Algerian Muslim masses The latter consideration actually counted very little It was fear of losing their dominant position that motivated the powerful European minority In opposing any liberalizing policy in Algeria, such as the *Projet Violette* of 1936 and those liberal provisions of the Statute of Algeria of 1947, they contributed to the widening breach between the Muslim and European communities It was an unmistakeable fact that the uncompromising attitude of the leaders of the European inhabitants contributed greatly to the outbreak of the Algerian rebellion. Hope that they could expect fair treatment in Algeria was never given to the Muslims. That the Algerian rebellion was an act of desperation on the part of the Muslims, Clark does not see, although he readily sees the May 13th settler rebellion as such an act. At no time does he analyze the position and attitudes of the European inhabitants of Algeria as a contributing factor to the outbreak of the Algerian rebellion So strong are the author's pro-settler feelings, he fails to indicate that fanatics among the Europeans share the grave responsibility with the Muslim fanatics (who are duly brought to task) for preventing a moderate and peaceful solution of the Algerian problem. It is curious too that a book that includes much detail should completely omit any reference to the 1957 bazooka attack by the "ultras" against General Salan.

One of Mr. Clark's basic premises is that the Algerian revolt is "a rebellion that falsely presents itself as an expression of a popular aspiration." He does not substantiate this contention. He asserts that the Algerian masses have supported the rebellion because of French weakness and not out of conviction in the cause of Algerian independence. This argument just does not stand up against the tremendous support given to the rebels by the Algerian populace despite the most difficult circumstances. In 1956 Mr. Abderrahmane Farès, a leading moderate and pro-French Algerian leader said "the only valid interlocutor at the present time is the F L.N which has been able to muster behind it the Algerian people almost to a man" Mr. Clark dismisses the statement blandly as untrue without giving evidence to the contrary. He points to the Muslim crowds among the May 13th demonstrators as evidence of Muslim solidarity with the Europeans against Algerian independence. He denies that coercion was used in getting the Muslims to demonstrate, implying that this was a genuine manifestation of Muslim feeling There has been little evidence to confirm this thesis

A decidedly questionable technique employed by Clark is the juxtaposition of apparently contradictory statements made at different times by leading figures in the Algerian drama The point seems to be to discredit these persons as intellectually deficient or dishonest. Thus, Mendès-France, Farès, General Georges Catroux, Farhat 'Abbas, Jacques Chevalier, the newspaper *Le Monde*, and others are called to task in this manner. Clark does not recognize that changing times may require changing attitudes. There is no virtue in consistency for the sake of consistency. A change of attitude brought about by a re-evaluation of the situation as a result of new conditions and factors may be more honest and realistic than dogmatic adherence to a set position. That some may have made mistakes is not excuse for failing to note the circumstances under which the new attitudes emerged.

It is regrettable that a book on the Algerian rebellion that has taken so much time to prepare and which contains much information not readily available in English, (i.e. the internal struggles within the Algerian nationalist move-

ment or the events of May 1958) should so greatly weaken its usefulness and its creditability because the author has not preserved the objectivity of a reporter. No one will argue that a partisan book may not be written, but it should be openly acknowledged as such and should not be presented as an objective account.

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TURKEY

TURKEY'S POLITICS: THE TRANSITION TO A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM, by Kemal H. Karpat. Princeton Princeton University Press, 1959. xiv + 522 pages. $7.50.

Reviewed by Şerif Arif Mardin

There exists no other work to compare with this one, the first study to give a detailed, accurate description and provide a lucid analysis of Turkish politics between the years 1946-1950

The extensive use of Turkish sources buttressed by the political scientist's specialized insight and an awareness of the cultural backdrop of political problems make it a model of what for some time now has been expected of Turkish political science. One of the reasons for which such works have not been coming forth at the anticipated rate is that combining a native familiarity of the Turkish scene with an unsparingly critical, scholarly approach entails psychological and methodological readjustments which few Turkish scholars have been willing to undergo even when they have been aware of the problem. In this sense, Mr. Karpat has established a valuable precedent of detachedness as well as filled a gap in our knowledge of Turkey.

While the book is mainly concerned with the developments that led to the establishment of the multi-party system in Turkey, the analysis it provides—by way of an introduction to the main topic—of Turkish political evolution under the Republic is also valuable, such information having been hitherto scattered in sources of unequal reliability. Mr. Karpat's gathering of these loose strands and his attempt at a synthetic view of the Republican period constitutes by itself a contribution to the study of modern Turkey.

The main theme of Dr. Karpat's presentation is that of the inter-meshing of social and economic development with political processes. For him the former sets the canvas within which new political forms emerge. No determinism of politics by these social and economic factors is implied, however, the evolution of modern Turkey being described as a continuous—and rather amorphous—process of interaction and mutual adjustment between these three basic categories. It is with regard to the looseness of this interpretive framework, however, that some question arises in one's mind. As admirable as is the factual material gathered by him, one wishes he would have spent some more time attempting to evaluate some of the theories held by Turkish politicians and scholars as to the significance of the transition to a multi-party system and the "real" nature of the Democratic Party One such idea that Karpat *does* take up is that of the connection between the establishment of the Democratic Party and the defense of landed interests. Mr Karpat also analyzes the relation between religious conservatism and the policies of the Democratic Party. Other tentative—but interesting—evaluations of the "essence" of this Party are not investigated An important one of these is the idea of the basically ambiguous nature of Democratic Party goals, i.e., the fact that the Democratic Party came to power on a platform which was at one and the same time a defense of the interests of the underprivileged (*kasketliler*—the cap wearers) and a promise of greater freedom of action to landholders, traders and other groups whose eagerness to widen their field of action had been curbed by the sometimes unnecessarily restrictive regulations of the People's Party. This ambiguity constitutes—for the moment—one of the main elements of the strength of the Democratic Party. A comparison with similar trends in the People's Party would have been illuminating. The main reason for which this point is important, however, is that recently (most probably some time after Mr. Karpat's book was

in the process of preparation) a number of articles have appeared here and there in the Turkish press criticizing such all-embracing aims as not conducive to the elaboration of an order of priorities in which economic, social and political goals can be organized It is claimed that this results in a type of political life where the clash of personalities takes precedence over the clash of ideas The suggestion has been concurrently made that what Turkey needs are parties with more precise ideologies *(doktrin partisi)*. This is a trend which will bear watching

Another important theory which has been advanced to explain the nature of the Democratic Party is that it is a vehicle for the expression of the revulsion of the provinces against the Westernizing and centralizing policies of the metropolis. This seething of the provinces has deep historical roots. Even looked at in the short-run perspective, however, it is significant With the rise of the Democratic Party the provincial town began for the first time since the process of modernization had begun in Turkey, to acquire a measure of influence in the elaboration of local and national policies The negative aspects of such control by local party machines are obvious, but it is a fact that the Democratic Party does not only get its strength from the *peasantry* but also from the Turkish *towns* This point is not sufficiently emphasized by Dr Karpat

A few points in Mr Karpat's study of the history of the Republic also need to be elaborated One of these is the treatment of the National Pact (*Misak-ı Millî*), more importance could have been accorded to the separate clauses of this pact since these constituted the foundation stone of Turkish diplomacy in the Republican era Neither does Mr Karpat touch on the long-lasting opposition to Atatürk in the Government of the Grand National Assembly. In many ways this attempt to begrudge full powers to Atatürk was a reappearance of the anti-centralist, pluralistic and, in some cases, pro-Islamic tendencies of some of the factions among the Young Turks and some of the parties established after 1908. What remained of such tendencies (and specifically the full cooperation of men who although liberally inclined had been given short shrift by the Committee of Union and Progress and/or the People's Party), lent considerable strength to the Democratic Party in 1946-1950. Altogether, however, this book gives a most complete treatment of modern Turkish politics and will not be superseded for some time. A detailed description of the major Turkish political parties rounds off the analytic and descriptive materials contained in the first fourteen chapters There is an extensive bibliography of both Turkish and foreign language sources and a useful index

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Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp. Translated and edited with an introduction by Niyazi Berkes New York: Columbia University Press, 1959 336 pages $5 00

Reviewed by Roderic H. Davison

Although Ziya Gokalp was neither true sociologist, historian, nor philosopher, he was the most influential *philosophe* of the twentieth-century Turkish revolution He was prophet and propagandist of the transition from the empire of the Ottomans to the modern nation of the Turks

It is therefore a great service that Professor Berkes has rendered in making available this collection of Gokalp's essays Not only has the editor collected short pieces from fugitive periodicals into one volume, but he has done a careful translation into English that reads smoothly As he makes plain, this volume does not attempt to include either Gokalp's longer historical and sociological works, or his literary efforts The essays here are some of Gokalp's 300-odd that appeared in newspapers and magazines in Turkey between 1911 and 1923 They concern social and cultural subjects

The reader whose interest lies in the contemporary Turkish scene or in the recent past, or even in Islamic civilization generally, will find much that is pertinent here. He will probably find also that he is arguing with Ziya Gökalp Though natural, this is, I think, the wrong approach. Rather Gökalp should be viewed not as a careful historian nor as a

systematic philosopher, but as living evidence of the period of rather rapid transition from the end of the autocratic régime in 1908 to the establishment of the Turkish republic in 1923 Some of Gökalp's views on the Ottoman past were very penetrating, some were palpably misconceptions. He represents the intellectual vanguard of the Turkish transformation, exhibiting always a restless, inquiring, wide-ranging mind

Gokalp's chief purpose was to arouse among Turks a national consciousness. One is reminded of Cavour's exhortation after he had put the geographical pieces of Italy together "We have made Italy. Now we must make Italians!" Gökalp was also much concerned to find the proper relationship of Islam and of Western secular modernism to Turkism. In 1913 he wrote, "We have to create 'an up-to-date Muslim Turkism'" Thereafter, this was his constant theme Turkism is basic among the three elements, for it is the expression of national culture as Gokalp defines it Culture in his view is the unconscious development of a people, civilization is for him a conscious, rational and rather artificial creation of individuals Civilization may include peoples of many nationalities, and may be transferred and borrowed Gokalp is not always consistent, even in developing his major theme, at one point, for instance, he finds that language is the principal basis of the consciousness of national identity, at another point religious practice. But he has a fairly clear concept of what constitutes a nation—ultimately, a community of sentiment

Ottoman civilization, in Gokalp's view, was an artificial creation that had obscured Turkish culture and done great harm to the Turkish nation, by depriving it of its own sense of identity Western civilization could be adapted to, and borrowed from, especially in its techniques, so long as Turkish culture remained the basic element in the compound. The same was true for Islam, which if properly understood was not incompatible with Turkish culture.

Professor Berkes provides a summary introduction, which has already appeared in this journal in 1954, to Gökalp's thought. He adds also brief explanatory notes, the Turkish titles and the dates of articles here translated (one wishes the dates had been included in the text rather than in the backnotes, the better to see the historical development of Gökalp's thought), a glossary of terms, and an index. It is altogether a most useful work

◊ RODERIC H DAVISON is Professor of History at George Washington University and this spring is visiting lecturer in history at Harvard University

ART, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

THE CONCISE OXFORD TURKISH DICTIONARY, edited by A D Alderson and Fahir Iz Oxford· The Clarendon Press, 1959. xii + 807 pages

Reviewed by William M. Austin

This dictionary is a slight abridgement of two previous dictionaries, *A Turkish-English Dictionary* by H. C Hony and *An English-Turkish Dictionary* by Fahir Iz and H. C. Hony As the two original dictionaries contained 954 pages and this one, 807 pages, the abridgement of about only fifteen per cent, can hardly be considered a great impairment of the originals' virtues, or vices Let it be said at the outset that this is the only usable such work in English, and let it be said that it is indispensable for American and English students of Turkish and for their counterparts in Turkey.

In the light of this, to raise criticisms of this book may seem like caviling, but some must be raised Pages vii-ix are devoted to a brief discussion of Turkish and English phonology The description of Turkish undotted *ı* [ɪ] as "between the *i* in *big* and the *u* in *bug*" is in a way accurate, but not much help Comparing it with the first syllable of *children* or *just a minute* (even for British English) would be more useful The description of *ğ* is somewhat worse "with hard vowels is a very guttural but faint *g* (dağ = *dagh*); with soft vowels it is a consonantal *y* (eğer = *eyer*)." The expressions *hard* (= back) and *soft* (= front) are, of course, from folklore, but what

can *gh* mean to English speakers? The *gh* in *through?* The *gh* in *cough?* The *gh* in *ghost?* The insertion of *ğ* in the Turkish alphabet in the first place (presumably by Kemal Pasha himself) is something of a mystery. It represents a voiced velar spirant [γ] in some dialects of eastern Anatolia, is indicated in the old Arabic writing, and is a morphophoneme in all dialects. Most Turks, overwhelmed by writing, insist that the "soft" *ğ* exists. Actually, it indicates length /:/ after vowels, as in *dağ*/dá:/, *doğru*/dó:ru/, /y/ between front vowels, as in *eğer*/éyer/, *değil*/déyil/ and nothing between back vowels, *ağa*/áa/. The rest of the phonological section, intended for the linguistically illiterate, is adequate.

As for the dictionary proper, there is very little with which one could find fault. It is distressing to find *clothes* given as the plural of *cloth*, and still more distressing to find its pronunciation given as "*klouδz*." *Often*, however, is fortunately given as "*ofn*." On the Turkish side, why list the infinites interminably, since they are all regular, in *-mek* alternating with *-mak?* And where is the defective, but important, verb *imek* (with forms such as *ise*, *imiş*, etc.)?

But let me reiterate. This is a good dictionary. It is indispensable to the student of Turkish, the translator, the traveler, and even the Altaic linguist.

◇ William M. Austin is Associate Professor of Linguistics at Georgetown University

English-Arabic Word List, Aramco Arabic Language Series. Beirut: ARAMCO, 1958. 452 pages. Price not indicated.

Reviewed by Richard S. Harrell

This book is a word list of some 7,000 entries. The modest title "Word List" as opposed to "Dictionary" was apparently deliberately chosen. Although the *Word List* distinguishes the more obvious homonyms and although it gives such minimum necessary grammatical information as the imperfect vowel of the verb, transitiveness or intransitiveness of the verb, noun plurals, and part of speech classification of entries, it does not give the full range of idiomatic meanings and illustrative material expected of a full-fledged dictionary. Entries in the *Word List* are in three columns. The left hand column is English, the middle column is "spoken Arabic" written in a Latin characters transcription, and the right hand column gives the Modern Standard Arabic equivalent in the Arabic script with full vowelling. Curiously enough, the authors (not named, as is the practice in the Aramco Arabic Language Series) fail (deliberately?) to specify what *kind* of "spoken Arabic" they are presenting, although the dialect in question is obviously that of the Persian Gulf area.

The prefatory material of the *Word List* represents an excellent attempt to satisfy both the demands of scholarly accuracy and practical utility for the layman. Neither demand can be fully satisfied in such a work as the *Word List*, but the practical compromise achieved is commendable. The introduction gives a succinct and accurate account of the difficulties involved in compiling an Arabic lexicon, and the commentary on transcription and pronunciation is both clear and accurate if evaluated within the modest scope of the *Word List*.

The printing, binding, and physical appearance of the book are all excellent, with one unfortunate exception. The key to pronunciation describes the difference between *s* and *ṣ* and provides different symbols for these two phonemes, but through some error of printing both *s* and *ṣ* are represented by the letter "s" in the body of the book. This slip is only partially redeemed by the presence of the Arabic script in the right hand column

On the whole, the Aramco linguistics staff is to be congratulated, they have given us one more eminently useful handbook. It is unfortunate that the *Word List*, like other Aramco Arabic language publications, bears no price indication and is not available for purchase through ordinary commercial channels. Aramco is quite generous in making its materials available to individuals and institutions that have a legitimate need for them, but this reviewer feels it would be a step forward if such books were openly available to the general public.

◇ Richard S. Harrell is Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the Institute of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University

STUDIES IN THE ARAB THEATER AND CINEMA, by Jacob M. Landau. Philadelphia· University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958. xiv + 290 pages

Reviewed by Sidney Glazer

The Arab theater and cinema are still on a fairly low level, like television in the United States, because they cater largely to the masses. The overwhelming demand is for ear and eye appeal in the form of music and dancing. There is comparatively little interest in plot, character development, direction, or even good writing, to which the educated Arabs are so sensitive. The player's the thing, just as in the U.S. As a result of box-office pressure, top movie stars are generally able to demand and receive one-third or more of the entire budget of a single picture, which rarely exceeds £E 50,000 Thus, little is left for all the other ingredients, technical and artistic, required for good films The only way the commercial influences can be mitigated and the cinema make the tremendous educational and esthetic contribution of which it is capable is through strong financial support from the government. The authorities have recognized the propaganda but not the social potential and have therefore been quite niggardly in help The plight of the theater is even worse for the same commercial and other reasons

Such is the conclusion of this excellent pioneering Western study of the Arab theater and cinema. Landau begins with a survey of the puppet shows known as shadow plays, which prepared the ground for the arrival and acceptance of the theater The latter came into existence as a result of conscious imitation of plays seen by Arabs in Western countries and their own capitals as performed by Italian and French troupes after the middle of the 19th century. Despite the shadow plays, the ordinary people were unable to appreciate the drama, an unfamiliar literary medium in the Islamic exist. This might prove a great blessing if each will discover its own spiritual inner resources and live together in humility and sincerity.
East. Religious opposition, costs, and the literary-colloquial conflict were other factors militating against the growth of the theater. Sophisticated Arabs generally preferred foreign plays and troupes to the amateurishness of local acting, writing, and production. Lacking appeal, therefore, both for the élite and for the masses, the Arab theater, though lively, has advanced little beyond the musical review or vaudeville stage.

The Nasir régime has given little encouragement, and devotees of the theater, according to Landau, are "almost unanimously pessimistic as to the future." The need of government assistance is by no means confined to the East. The finer arts, even in Washington, for example, struggle for survival Elevation of taste and appreciation will be achieved only by strong government reinforcement of traditional private efforts

Landau's interest is focused chiefly on the development of the theater and cinema as institutions and industries rather than on plays and playwrights, although his sections on the three major 20th century dramatists—Aḥmad Shawqī, Tawfīq al-Hakīm, and Maḥmud Taymur—are penetrating. Of great value to future investigators will be the appended bibliography of some 220 articles and books and the list of over 800 original and translated plays.

The book is not so much a critical study of the literary and esthetic qualities of the Arab theater as it is an analysis of a pervasive cultural importation reflecting a major aspect in the Westernization of the Arab world. As such it will interest those concerned with social phenomena in the Middle East as well as theater historians and students of Arabic literature

◇ SIDNEY GLAZER prepares the Bibliography section of the JOURNAL.

HISTORY, RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF RUMI, by Afzal Iqbal, with a foreword by A. J. Arberry. Lahore Bazm-I-Iqbal, n.d. 172 pages. No price indicated

Reviewed by Ehsan Yarshater

Mr. Iqbal is to be warmly congratulated on his success at providing students of Rumi, as well as the general reader, with a long needed introduction to the work of the poet. Rumi,

whose poetry, in the words of Professor A. J. Arberry, "enriched humanity with such splendid and massive contributions to literature and thought," and who was hailed by R. A. Nicholson as "the greatest mystical poet of any age" has been the subject of much scholarly research Yet no comprehensive work on his life and thought was available,[1] so Mr Iqbal's study is particularly welcome.

The author begins his study with an endeavor to reconstruct the political, social, and cultural atmosphere of the Muslim world in the thirteenth century, the period of considerable turmoil and calamity in which Rumi lived He envisages a decaying society threatened from within by corroding forces of dissidence, factional feuds, and a weakening of Islamic principles and practice, and from without by two formidable challenges· the Crusaders from the West, and the Mongols from the East. Although Islam managed to resist and finally to repel the first challenge, it fell to the second, and for a time Islam "seemed forever lost" (p 43). Thus the author sets the stage for the dramatic appearance of the great mystic who was "to revitalize the decadent Muslim society" (p 43), and restore health to its body and soul, as Ghazali had done two centuries earlier. While we must give all due acknowledgment to the profound and lasting impact of Rumi, this contention presents rather an exaggerated estimate of Rumi's immediate influence. Nor, in the light of more recent research on the Ismailis, would one paint the Assassins as black as they are traditionally pictured by their inimical critics, and consider them "insidious enemies" within the bosom of Islam, "poisoning its life" (p. 40)

In the second chapter, on the "formative period" of Rumi, we follow him from Balkh, his birthplace, to Konya, the prospering capital of the enlightened Saljuk monarch, Ala'ud-Din Keyqubad, where he settles as a theologian and teacher. The author has made a worthy effort to establish the essential facts and dates

We reach the climax of the poet's life story in the third chapter The well known revolution in the life of Rumi, the result of the galvanizing contact with the weird mystic Shams-i Tabriz, transforms the revered theologian and preacher into a rapturous devotee robbed of all self-possession and composure, and given to music, dance, and poetry All this is treated with insight and sympathy.

In the last two chapters, Rumi's two major works are taken up in turn, i.e, the *Divan*, which is the collection of his lyric poetry, and the *Mathnavi*, embodying his thought and teachings The author's rare esthetic sensitiveness and his highly developed gift of analysis combine to make these two chapters the most rewarding parts of the book.

Those who are familiar with Rumi's work are also familiar with the fact that his lyric poetry does not lend itself to easy analysis Its ecstatic fervor, its explosive spontaneity, its extraordinarily rich but unconventional language, not infrequently strained to the brink of unintelligibility to express the wonders of a miraculous imagination, or to satisfy the fancies of an acute sense of rhythm, defy classification The difficulty of the *Mathnavi* on the other hand, apart from the challenge of its language, lies mainly in the complexity of thought wedded to a loose, "centrifugal" treatment Yet Mr Iqbal has succeeded in capturing the atmosphere of both works, and moves through his analysis and appreciation with confidence and warmth [2]

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1 In addition to R A Nicholson's *Rumi*, ed by A J Arberry, London, 1950, and B Forunzanfar's, *Resala dar tahqiq-e ahwal wa zendegani-ye Mowlana Jalal ud-Din Mohammad, Mashhur be Mowlavi*, treatise on the investigation of the conditions and life of M J M, known as Mowlavi, Tehran, 2nd ed, 1955, further partial introductions to Rumi include A Dashti's *Seyri dar Divan-i Shams* ('A Promenade in the Divan-i Shams,' Tehran, 1958) an essay in apprecation, and *Yad-Name-ye Mowlavi* ('Memorial Volume to M,' Tehran, 1958), a collection of essays of mixed value by various authors

2 Some minor corrections p 41, surely Ghazni and not Baghdad in "Al-Baihaqi the chronicler at the court of Baghdad," p 30 and p 60, "Khwarizm" instead of "Khwarism-shah," p 115, "Khamush," an important *nom de plume* of Rumi, has not been mentioned, p 53, n 1, Lubab ul-Bab for lubabul-Albab, p 71, Mutanabbi is not a pre-Islamic poet Some quotations are not referred to their sources, e g, p 171 There are numerous misprints in Persian quotations in Arabic script These are not corrected in the errata and sometimes impair the meaning and the meter of the verses

◇ Ehsan Yarshater is Visiting Associate Professor of Iranian Studies at Columbia University

SANDALS AT THE MOSQUE. THE CHRISTIAN PRESENCE AMID ISLAM, by Kenneth Cragg New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. 143 pages. Glossary and bibliography $2 75.

Reviewed by Edwin M. Wright

The question of co-existence is bothering not only the politicians but the theologians. The religions that developed in the Near East after the Universal Tolerant State of the Achemenid Empire are all "imperialist" and "universal" in their claims and attitudes Judaism which had been tribal, territorial and exclusive produced such dreamers as Deutero-Isaiah who described the Suffering Servant as the Universal Redeemer, the Achemenid Kings claimed to be Divinely Elected Rulers of a Universal State; Hellenism produced a universal philosophic method, and Rome established a Universal Law Christendom claimed to be the final heir of all four—until Islam appeared The claims of Islam reduced Christianity to "just another temporary dispensation," now surpassed by the final and universal divine society—the brotherhood of Islam Can the two systems co-exist?

Anyone familiar with the appearance of the entrance to a mosque at prayer time, will understand the symbolism of the rows of sandals neatly piled in shelves near the door But what is going on inside the mosque? Dr Cragg, with his long familiarity with the traditional mosque service, interprets what is going on in the mind of the worshipper. He quotes a sermon, re-examines the traditional concepts which have given Islam its historic forms and cohesion and then points out the difficulties presented by the projection of this pattern of beliefs, rituals and institutions into modern times

During the nineteenth century European civilization overran the Islamic world and in the eyes of both many Christians and Muslims, Christianity and European civilization were closely inter-related But the onslaught of secular and scientific dynamism has brought about a new situation. Instead of Christianity and Islam struggling against each other, they find themselves in cooperation and alliance against the inroads of a non-religious philosophy This creates a situation of "inter-religion" where Christian and Muslim must re-think their substance. In Arab and Muslim "nationalism," what place has the Christian minority? And vice versa. For nationalism must ignore sectarian lines if it is to draw upon the whole loyalty of both groups

The final chapter shows that both religions claim to establish world peace but they have been unable to agree on basic historic facts—such as the death of Jesus on the cross—or on interpretations of general principles Yet both religions, while leaving their shoes on the outside during worship, don those shoes to go back into the world they have in common As much as they may wish or desire, they will co-

The book is a devotional study of both religions It points out the opportunities and failures of both as well as their common dilemmas and needs In their present situation, this is an effort to open up a dialogue between the two It would be most interesting if a Muslim scholar of equal compassion and erudition would carry on the dialogue

◇ EDWIN M WRIGHT was recently President of the Middle East Institute

SHORTER NOTICES

FOUNDATIONS OF ISRAEL EMERGENCE OF A WELFARE STATE, by Oscar I. Janowsky (An Anvil Original, No 41) Princeton· D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc, 1959 191 pages. $1.25.

This little book by a noted Jewish historian seeks "to trace the origins and development of Israel and to clarify the purposes which have motivated its architects and protagonists" This is a tall order, impossible to achieve in some 200 pages of a "pocketbook"-format work, more than one third of which is devoted to a selection of statistics and documents. Professor Janowsky succeeds, however, in adding to the literature on Israel a useful little volume, written simply but replete with information, about the country, its Jewish population, and the development of its government and its politics down to 1956-1958. The chapters on political and constitutional developments are very informative, but give little analysis of the political dynamics which take place within the institutional framework described. The eco-

nomic chapters fail to focus on Israel's predicament of having to reconcile welfare-state ideals with economic realities. Professor Janowsky is partial to his subject, and this detracts from the value of the parts of the book which describe relations with the Arabs.

◈ ABRAHAM M. HIRSCH, Washington, D C.

THE MIDDLE EAST: 1959, by Europa Publications Limited. London: Europa Publications Limited, 1959. xvi + 491 pages. $13 50.

This is the seventh edition of a most valuable, single-volume survey and directory of the Middle East. With each successive volume, the material becomes more refined and, consequently, more accurate and complete

Like the preceding volumes (this publication appears now to be an annual undertaking), contents are organized by country, including North Africa as far west as Libya, the Arabian Peninsula, the Levant, Turkey, Iran, and Cyprus. Although the Introduction presents some explanation for the exclusion of Pakistan and Afghanistan, it is nonetheless a pity that these two Islamic states—about which current information is so difficult to find quickly—are not considered by the editors as part of the area A valuable section on "Who's Who in the Middle East," an entirely-too-brief treatment of "The Tenets of Islam," and sections on "The Refugees" and "Major Oil Concessions" are included, and greatly enhance the reference value of the book. Statistics have been updated where possible and the important events of the Summer of 1958 are included. Valuable additions are the texts of the new Constitutions of the UAR and the Republic of Iraq.

◈ DONALD C. CURRY, Washington, D. C.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

General

The Holy Sword: The Story of Islam from Muhammad to the Present, by R. Payne. Leiden: E J. Brill, 1959. 16 photographs. f 22 80. The first complete popular history of Islam from its beginnings to the twentieth century, revealing every aspect of the Muslim march through history—cultural, military, political, religious, and scientific—with portraits of the figures who crested the tide of Arab conquest

Middle East Perspective, by R. C. Mowat. New York· Pitman, 1959. 279 pages. $4.50. A survey of recent events in the Middle East.

Offbeat in Asia, by Michael Alexander. New York· David McKay Company, Inc, n.d $4 00. Deals with the author's travels in Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, and other Asian countries.

A Selected Bibliography of Articles Dealing with the Middle East, III 1955-58 Published by the Economic Research Institute of the Eliezer Kaplan School of Economics and Social Sciences Jerusalem The Hebrew University, 1959 59 pages Index to page 65

The Subcontinent of South Asia (Afghanistan, Ceylon, India, Nepal, Pakistan). Department of State Publication 6839 Free Presents basic information on land, culture, history, government, economy, foreign affairs, US relations. Stresses the common characteristics

Arab World

Gamal Âbdel Nasser et son équipe, 2 vols, by G Vaucher Leiden. E J. Brill, 1959 304 pages 3 maps 1 frontispiece. f 9 40

History of Education in Iraq During Ottoman Times 1639-1917, by Abdul-Razzak Hilali. Leiden E J Brill, 1959 283 pages Arabic text pap f 15

The History of Modern Iran. An Interpretation, by Joseph M. Upton. Harvard Middle Eastern Monograph Series II Cambridge. Harvard University Press, 1960 163 pages Notes and bibliography

Nuri as-Said: A Study in Arab Leadership, by Lord Birdwood London Cassel, 1959 xiii + 306 pages Illustrated Maps Index. 30s

Revolution in Iraq. An essay in comparative public opinion, by Caractacus London V. Gollancz, 1959 207 pages 16s

Volage en Egypte et en Syrie, by Volney. Published with an introduction and notes by Jean Gaulmier. The Hague Mouton & Company, 1959

Israel

Bank of Israel Annual Report, 1958. Prepared by the Research Department of the Bank of Israel Hebrew Edition. 293 pages English edition 306 pages £I 3.500

Israel Argosy No 6, edited by Isaac Halévy-Levin New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1960. Illustrated $3 95 The latest volume in a series on modern Israeli literature in English translation An art section displays landscapes by 16 young artists

Israel Industry and Export Trade Directory, 1959 Published by Israel Periodicals. Tel Aviv Israel Periodicals, n d Hebrew and English editions £I 4 500

The Israeli Worker: Achievements, Attitudes, and Aspirations, by Ferdynand Zweig. New York

Herzl Press, 1959. xiii + 305 pages. $5.00. A sociological analysis of the Israeli worker. Covers employee-worker relations, types of workers, working conditions and collective agreements, productivity and industrial organization and the significance of the Histadrut Kalit. The author was visiting professor of labor relations at The Hebrew University in Jerusalem from 1953-1956.

A New Zionism, 2nd enlarged edition, by Mordecai Menahem Kaplan New York Herzl Press, 1959. 190 pages $3 50 Revised to include a chapter on the reasons for a greater Zionism. The new material is based on an address delivered at the convention of the Zionist Organization of America in October, 1958

Rebirth and Destiny of Israel, by David Ben-Gurion. Edited and translated from the Hebrew under the supervision of Morekhai Nurock. London Thomas Yoseloff, 1959 539 pages 42s

The Story of David Ben-Gurion, by Barnet Litvinoff. New York: Oceana, 1960. 160 pages $2 95. A biography of the Israeli leader from his childhood in Poland to the present

A Survey of Israelian Society: The Idea of the Jewish State, Vol. I, by Benjamin Halpern. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959 Traces the development of the ideology and institutions that culminated in the creation of the sovereignty of Israel, from the rise of Zionism to the present Vol II will deal with Israel's contemporary domestic problems

Who's Who in Israel 1960, eighth edition. Tel Aviv P. Mamut Publications, 1960 $12 00

North Africa

Al-Halil Ibn Ahmad, der Lehrer Sībwaihs, als Grammatiker, by Wolfgang Reuschel Leipzig. Akademie-Verlag GMBH, 1959 75 pages 7 L

L'Islam en Occident. Europe-Afrique, by Jean-Paul Roux Paris: Payot, 1959 304 pages. Bibliography. 1/500 F *Kitāb Faṣl Al Maqāl*, with its appendix *(Damīma)* and an extract from *Kitāb al-Kashf al-Manāhij al-Adilla*, (in Arabic), edited by George F. Hourani Leiden E. J. Brill, 1959. 20 pages of introduction, special notes, abbreviations, conventions iv + 48 pages 2 facs., and an index of names and terms in the text

Nationalisme algérien et grandeur française, by Alain Savary Paris Librairie Plon, 1960

Al-Qistās al-Mustaqim, by Al-Ghazali Edited with an introduction (in Arabic) and notes by Victor Shalhat Beirut: Catholic Press (Librairie Orientale), 1959. 104 pages.

Pakistan

Le Pakistan, 90 millions de musulmans, by A. Gaudio. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959 212 pages 8 plates. 1 map. pap f 7.75.

A Punjabi Village in Pakistan, by Zekiye Eglar. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. Illustrated. $6.00.

Palestine Problem

The Seat of Pilate: An Account of the Palestine Mandate, by John Marlowe. London: Cresset Press, 1959. xl + 289 pages Maps. Bibliography. Index. 30s.

Turkey

A Selected, Annotated Bibliography of Basic Books and Monographs in English on Modern Turkey. Revised edition. Ankara Türk-Amerikan Eğitim Derneği, 1959 9 pages $1 00

Documents on Ottoman Administration in Palestine, 1552-1615, A Study in the Muhimme Defteri, by Uriel Heyd London Oxford University Press, 1960 216 pages 16 plates. $5 60 In English translation, this volume prints for the first time a large number of Turkish firmans and other decrees collected mostly from the Muhimme Defteri (a series of ancient official registers in the State Archives at Istanbul). They deal with problems such as provincial administration, military forces, Bedouins, taxation, trade, industry, waqf, public works, non-Muslim communities, and holy places.

History, Archaeology, and Religion

Ancient Bedouin Society, Studi Semitici 2. Published by Centro di Studi Semitici Rome. Università di Roma, 1959. 159 pages $5 00

The Antiquities of Jordan, by G Lankester Harding New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1960 224 pages 31 photographs. 10 maps, and diagrams $4 75.

Le conflict autour du Coran et la solution d'al-Bāqillānī, by J Bouman. Leiden. E J Brill, 1959 xi + 97 pages. fr 12 50.

Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, Vol II *Les Grottes de Murabba'at*, by P. Benoit, O P, J. T Milik and R de Vaux, O P. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960 300 pages. 110 collogypes, and some text figures. $16.00

Herzl Year Book. Essays in Zionist History and Thought, Vol. 2, Edited by Rafael Patai. New York Herzl Press, 1959 253 pages. Bibliography. Footnotes. Illustrations $5 00

Ibn Khaldûns Wissenschaft von der menschlichen Kultur, by H. Simon Leiden: E J Brill, 1959 126 pages. pap. f 13 45.

Iqbal, his Art and Thought, by Syed Abdul Vahid. London: John Murray Ltd, 1959 253 pages. 30s.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

Ancient Semitic Civilizations, by Sabatino Moscati. New York. G. P Putnam's Sons. 256 pages. 30 illustrations Bibliography and index. $1.45.

Avecinna and the Visionary Recital, by Henry Corbin. Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask New York Bollingen Foundation Approximately 500 pages

The Changing Middle East, by Emil Lengyel New York· John Day Company 384 pages. Map Index $5 75

A Clash of Destinies, by Jon and David Kimche New York Frederick A Praeger Approximately 288 pages 16 maps $4 95

La Crise de l'intelligentsia Égyptienne, by Raoul Makarius The Hague Mouton & Company 560 pages $5 00

Defense of the Middle East, by John Campbell Published for the Council on Foreign Relations New York Frederick A Praeger 392 pages $1 75 An analysis of the involvement of the US in the Middle East and of the political, economic, and military problems that now face the US in that area

Grivas Portrait of a Terrorist, by Dudley Barker New York Harcourt, Brace Company

The Guide to Israel, by Zev Vilnay New York The World Publishing Company 560 pages Illustrated $5 00

Histoire Biblique du peuple d'Israel, by Andre and Renée Neher Paris Librairie d'Amérique & d'Orient Two volumes 672 pages 32 plates. f 7 2

Independent Iraq, 1932-1958, A Study in Iraqi Politics, 2nd edition, by Majid Khadduri New York Oxford University Press 408 pages 1 map $7 20 This is a new edition of the first inside story of Iraqi political developments by an Iraqi writer A new chapter deals with the Development Board, the oil agreement of 1952, the communist movement, the breakdown of democratic government and new material has been added from captured German Archives and published and unpublished memoirs of the RIIA

The Mongols of Afghanistan An Ethnography of the Moghôls of Afghanistan, by H F Schurman The Hague Mouton & Company Approximately 420 pages. Gld 38 - / $10 00

The Religious Duties of Islam as Taught and Explained by Abu Bakr Effendi, by Miya Syrier Brandel Leiden E J Brill

Shiraz The Persian City of Saints and Poets, by A J Arberry Norman University of Oklahoma Press 144 pages Bibliography. Index. $2 75

The Spirit of Islam, by Ashfaque Husain New York Taplinger Publishing Company, Inc, (exclusive distributors for Asia Publishing House) $2 00

Versuch Eines Wörterbuches der Turk-Dialecte, by Wilhelm Radloff The Hague Mouton & Company Approximately 4450 pages $48 00

The Way of the Swan, Poems of Kashmir, by Nilla Cram Cook New York Taplinger Publishing Company, Inc, (exclusive distributors for Asia Publishing House) 148 pages $4 50.

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Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East since the rise of Islam In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Muslim Spain, the Arab World, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of the Soviet Union, Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan An attempt is made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields. The ancient Near East and Byzantium are excluded; so also Zionism, Palestine, and Israel in view of the current, cumulative bibliography on this field: *Palestine and Zionism*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library, New York

It would be appreciated if authors of articles appropriate to the Bibliography would send reprints or notices of such articles to: Bibliography Editor, The Middle East Journal, 1761 N Street, N W., Washington 6, D. C.

HISTORY
(Ancient, Medieval)

12249 EL-ALI, SALEH A "Muslim estates in Hidjaz in the first century A H" *J Econ and Soc Hist., of the O.* 2 (D'59) 247-61 Uses the works of the jurists and geographers.

12250 ASHTOR-STRAUSS, E "Quelques indications sur les revenus dans l'orient musulman au haut Moyen Âge" *J Econ and Soc Hist. of the O* 2(D'59) 262-80. Based on documents from the Cairo Genizah

12251 BASMADJIAN, K "Dates of founding of historic Armenian churches" *Armenian Rev.* 12 (O'59) 95-6 A chronological listing of the dates when the principal churches in various parts of Armenia were founded

12252 BOSWORTH, EDMUND "The rise of the Karāmiyyah in Khurasān" *Muslim World* 50 (Ja'60) 5-14 An account of this East Persian sect which reached its peak of power in Nishapur early in the 11th century

12253 CHEKHOVICH, O D "A new source on the history of Bokhara in the early 14th century" (In Russian). *Prob Vostoka* 5 (1959) 148-61 A document dated 1326 from the Central State Archives in Tashkent containing new data on the social and economic history of Central Asia at the time of the Mongol invasion

12254 CAHEN, CLAUDE "Du nouveau sur les frontaliers dans l'Islam médiéval" *J. Econ. and Soc. Hist of the O* 2(D'59) 333-4 Calls attention to two Arabic texts throwing some light on the organization of the frontier warriors in early Islam

12255 DEMEERSEMAN, A "Un type de lettré tunisien du XIVme siècle" *I B L A* 22, no. 3 (1959) 261-86 A study in depth of 'Abdallāh Tyānī,' author of a well-known book of travels in Tunisia and Tripolitania

12256 HAMIDULLAH, M "The Christian monk Abū 'Amir of Medina in the time of the Holy Prophet" *J Pak Hist. Soc* 7(O'59) 231-40. Abū 'Āmir was a pure Arab of the tribe of al-Aws

12257 LABIB, SOBHI "Geld und Kredit" *J Econ and Soc Hist of the O* 2(D'59) 225-46 Studies of the medieval Egyptian economic system.

12258 PARET, RUDI "Das Islamische Weltreich" *Hist Zeitsch* (July, 1959) *

12259 TOTOMIANTZ, VAHAN "Role of the Armenians in world civilization" *Armenian Rev.* 12(O'59) 22-30 The Armenians in Byzantium

HISTORY AND POLITICS
(Modern)

12260 "The Baku historical conference." *C A Rev.,* 7 no 4(1959) 344-50 A summary of the principal papers of the 1958 conference on the history of the Bolshevik revolution in Transcaucasia.

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*No further information available

12261 "The murder of Griboyedov in Tehran." *C. A Rev.*, 7, no 4 (1954) 382-6. Griboyedov, the Russian ambassador in Tehran and a well known writer, was murdered by a mob on January 30, 1829. The article discusses a near-contemporary document written by an Armenian

12262 "The revolution of 1905-7 in Turkmenistan" *C A. Rev*, 7, no. 4 (1959) 322-8. A critical analysis of vol 4 of the *Works of the Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnology*, Turkmen Academy of Sciences, 1958

12263 "Self-determination in Algeria." *Round Table* no 197 (D'59) 32-40. Defines the issues for the referendum.

12264 "Aghbiur Serop" *Armenian Rev* 12 (O'59) 31-42 Account of this Armenian leader who fought against the Turks in 1895

12265 AGGIOURI, RENÉ "Le plan Hammarskjoeld et les Arabes." *Orient* 3, no 3 (1959) 41-50 Status of the refugee problem.

12266 ARABIAN, GREGORY. "An inquiry into the Turkish massacres of 1894-1897, III" *Armenian Rev.* 12 (O'59) 127-33. A close examination of the role of the sultan in the policy decision to exterminate the Armenians

12267 BARBOUR, NEVILL. "Impressions of the United Arab Republic." *Internat. Aff.* 36 (Ja'60) 21-34 Draws a generally favorable picture of conditions "A social conscience is now well developed a great many keen and energetic people are actively working to transform the conditions of life, and the population is responsive to their efforts"

12268 BERREBY, JEAN-JACQUES. "La Libye à l'heure du pétrole" *Pol. Etrangère* 24, no 6 (1959) 636-44 An analysis of Libyan foreign policy.

12269 BERREBY, JEAN-JACQUES "Le prodigieux destin du golfe Persique" *Orient* 3, no 3 (1959) 79-89 The geopolitical importance of the region that has had a profound effect on world history from ancient times

12270 BIN SAYEED, KHALID "Collapse of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan" *MEJ* 13, no. 4 (1959) 389-406

12271 COLOMBE, MARCELLE. "La nouvelle politique arabe de la République arabe unie." *Orient* 3, no 3 (1959) 13-19. A study of the implications of the resumption of diplomatic relations between the U A R, and Jordan

12272 DAWN, ERNEST. "Ideological influences in the Arab revolt" *World of Islam· Studies in Honor of Philip K. Hitti* (1959) 233-48. An analysis of 'Abdallāh's memoirs and four of Husayn's proclamations issued between June 1916 and March 1917.

12273 GALLAGHER, CHARLES F. "Towards a settlement in Algeria" *For Aff* 38 (Ja'60) 273-84. The logic of history points in only one direction—self-determination.

12274 GILEAD, BARUCH. "Turkish-Egyptian relations 1952-1957." *Mid. East Aff.* 10 (N'59) 356-66. The ebb and flow of good feeling related to rivalry for leadership of the Middle East.

12275 GLUBB, JOHN. "Britain and the Arabs." *R.C.A.J.* 46 (Jl-O'59) 232-41. Urges a vast propaganda drive to win the friendship of the Arabs.

12276 IVANOV, M S "New materials on the social democratic group of Tabriz in 1908" (In Russian) *Prob. Vostoka* 5 (1959) 179-82 The author concludes from a study of personal letters that there were only a few Social Democratic groups, but no Social Democratic party in Persia in 1908

12277 JARGY, SIMON. "Le déclin d'un parti." *Orient* 3, no. 3 (1959) 21-39 Traces the history and ideology of the Syrian socialist party Ba'ath and aspects of the crisis it is now passing through

12278 KARAL, ENVER ZIYA. "Historiography in Turkey today." *Mid East Aff.* 10 (O'59) 318-25. The field is well organized The main emphasis is on Turkish history as a whole and on its connections with world history The publication methods combine the ideas of Ataturk and world scholarship

12279 KEDOURIE, ELIE. "Réflexions sur l'histoire du royaume d'Irak (1921-1958)" *Orient* 3, no. 3 (1959) 55-77 Analysis of the inherent weaknesses of the Hashimite dynasty and British policy that eventually culminated in the revolution of 1958

12280 KILNER, PETER. "A year of army rule in the Sudan" *World Today* 15 (N'59) 430-41. The purpose of the military take-over was stability rather than revolution. In addition to reducing tensions, the army has put the Sudan's economy on its feet and enabled the civil service to administer "more clearly and more cleanly."

12281 KIRK, GEORGE. "The Syrian crisis of 1957—fact and fiction." *Internat Aff* 36 (Ja'60) 58-61 Challenges the view that this crisis was American-inspired.

12282 LOCKHART, LAWRENCE. "The constitutional laws of Persia. An outline of their origins and development" *MEJ* 13, no. 4 (1959) 372-388

12283 NEREVAN "Le congrès kurde de Vienne." *Orient* 3, no 3 (1959) 51-3. An indication of the current thinking of young Kurdish intellectuals

12284 PAPAZIAN, VAHAN. "Situation in the Caucasus 1910-20" *Armenian Rev* 12, (O'59) 76-86. From the memoirs of an Armenian statesman

12285 PERETZ, DON "Reflections on Israel's fourth parliamentary elections." *MEJ* 14, no. 1 (1960) 15-28.

12286 PERLMANN, M. "Of the moon and Baghdad" *Mid East Aff* 10 (D'59) 394-8. A review of the last quarter of 1959 in the Middle East

12287 PERLMANN, M. "Slope and sideline." *Mid. East Aff* 10 (O'59) 325-9. The summer of 1959 in the Middle East

12288 SARAFIAN, VAHE A. "The formation of the Armenian Independent Republic, II" *Armenian Rev.* 12 (O'59) 97-107. Events leading to the

downfall of the Van Armenian state.

12289 SPEIR, GEORGE. "The Tunisian constitution." *MEJ* 13, no. 4 (1959) 443-448 Documentary article.

12290 SPECTOR, IVAR. "Russian and Afro-Asian Neutralism." *Current Hist.* vol 38, (N'59) 272-7. The challenge of Russia in this area should be answered by the official and unequivocal U.S. support for nationalist movements.

12291 WEIGERT, GIDEON. "Arab writers look at Israel." *World Today* 15 (D'59) 501-8. Brief reviews of a number of books published since 1948.

12292 WHEELER, KEITH. "Iraq's 'sole leader' and his shaky state" *Life* 47 (Ag 3 '59) 78 ff. The factors behind Qasim's belated stand against the Communists Based on the author's trip through the country, which he found chaotic.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

12293 AMBARYAN, A. S. "Industrial development in pre-Soviet Armenia" (in Armenian) *Izv. Akad. Nauk Armenian SSR* no. 10 (1959) 13-28.

12294 DEES, JOSEPH L "Jordan's East Ghor canal project" *MEJ* 13, no. 4 (1959) 357-371.

12295 HAMID, HAKIM A "Marketing and business practices in Afghanistan." *MEJ* 14, no 1 (1960) 87-93. Economic review.

12296 MORRIS, JAMES A "Recent problems of economic development in Turkey" *MEJ* 14, no. 1 (1960) 1-14.

12297 REMBA, ODED. "Public finance and private enterprise in the Middle East" *Mid. East Aff.* 10 (D'59) 382-94. The trend toward an increasing role for the state in the region's economy. Will the governments actively encourage private initiative? Can the Middle East change its institutional structure to increase productivity?

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

12298 "The peoples of Central Asia: cultural development" *C A. Rev.* 7, no. 4 (1959) 312-21. Problems encountered by Soviet authorities in installing a new educational system and russifying the languages

12299 ABOU-ZEID, A. M. "The sedentarization of nomads in the western desert of Egypt." *Internat. Soc. Sci. J.* 11, no. 4 (1959) 550-8. Part of the Unesco study on nomads and nomadism in the Arid Zone.

12300 AVDAL, AMINE. "Patronymics among the Kurds of Armenia in the 19th century" (in Russian). *Sov. Etnografiya* 6 (1959) 150-2.

12301 BAULIN, JACQUES. "Lutte contre les stupéfiants et réformes sociales en Égypte" *Orient* 3, no. 3, (1959) 91-8. Despite the determined efforts of the government, addiction to hashish is growing. The author ties the problem in with the deeply rooted but not Qur'ān-sanctioned practice of female excision.

12302 GABLE, RICHARD W "Culture and administration in Iran" *MEJ* 13, no. 1 (1959) 407-421.

12303 GERSHEVITCH, ILYA "Travels in Bashkardia." *R.C.A.J.* 46 (Jl-O'59) 213-25 An interesting account of this little known area in southeastern Persia

12304 GOICHON, A. M "Oeuvres de bienfaisance et oeuvres sociales en Syrie." *Orient* 3, no. 3 (1959) 99-122 A detailed study of orphan asylums, charitable societies, etc.

12305 HAMDAN, G "The growth and functional structure of Khartoum." *Geog. Rev.*, 50, no 1 (Ja'60) 21-40. Major emphasis of this survey is on the "social topography"

12306 HELAISSI, A. S "The bedouins and tribal life in Saudi Arabia" *Internat Soc. Sci. J* 11, no. 4 (1959) 532-8 (See no. 12299 above)

12307 JAMĀLĪ, FĀḌIL. "Theological colleges of Najaf" *Muslim World* 50 (Ja'60) 15-22. A highly interesting account of what the author calls the freest educational system in the world Najaf is the main center of Shī'ah religious education

12308 KARCHIKYAN, O. KH. "Some problems in *kolkhoz* economics and the development of specialization in Ararat plain agriculture" (in Russian). *Izv. Akad. Nauk Armenian SSR* no 10, (1959) 29-42

12309 KARPAT, KEMAL H "Social themes in contemporary Turkish literature Part I." *MEJ* 14, no 1 (1960) 29-44.

12310 LELONG, M "La vie intellectuelle et artistique en Tunisie, IV-le théâtre." *I B.L.A* 22, no 3 (1959) 325-36 Origin, current status, and future of the theater—which is closely linked to the country's cultural and social evolution.

12311 LEWIS, W H "Rural administration in Morocco" *MEJ* 14, no 1 (1960) 45-60.

12312 MONTEIL, VINCENT. "The evolution and settling of the nomads of the Sahara" *Internat. Soc. Sci J.* 11, no 4 (1959) 572-85. (See no 12299 above)

12313 MUHSAM, H V. "Sedentarization of the bedouins in Israel" *Internat. Soc. Sci. J.* 11, no 4 (1959) 539-49 (See no. 12299 above)

12314 PHILLIPS, D G. "Rural to urban migration in Iraq" *Econ Develop and Cult Change* (Jl'59) 405-21

12315 de PLANHOL, XAVIER "Geography, politics and nomadism in Anatolia" *Internat. Soc. Sci. J* 11, no 4 (1959) 525-31 (See no. 12299 above)

12316 SILBERMAN, LEO "Somali nomads" *Internat. Soc Sci J* 11, no. 4 (1959) 559-71. (See no 12299 above)

12317 YEFREMOV, A. "Agrarian relations in Iraq." (in Russian) *Prob Vostoka* 5 (1959) 112-22. The situation of the peasants in the eve of the July 1958 revolution Detailed analysis of the land reform law.

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, QUR'ĀN, AND THEOLOGY

12318 DODGE, BAYARD. "The Fāṭimid legal

code." *Muslim World* 50 (Ja'60) 30-8 Describes the codes used by the Fāṭimids in place of the orthodox Sunnī systems.

12319 GALINDO, E. "Anthropologie et cosmogonie chez Avicenne" *I B L A.* 22, no 3 (1959) 287-323

12320 GOITEIN, S D. "The birth-hour of Muslim law" *Muslim World* 50 (Ja'60) 23-9 A discussion of Surah V, 42-51 aimed at showing that the idea of the *Sharī'ah* was conceived by Muhammad and was not primarily a post Qur'ānic development

12321 HOURANI, GEORGE F "The chonology of Ghazālī's writings" *J A O S* 79 (O-D'59) 225-331. The order and dates as derived from substantial evidence

LANGUAGE

12322 BASKAKOV, A N "The classification of participles in Turkish" (in Russian) *Voprosy Yaz* 6 (1959) 110-14 An attempt to distinguish participles from other derivative verbal forms and to examine their specific properties

12323 BLANC, HAIM "Iraqi Arabic studies" *MEJ* 13, no 4 (1959) 449-453 Book review article

12324 FERGUSON, C A "The Arabic Koine" *Language* 34, no 4 (1959) 616-30

12325 FOURQUET, J "Genesis of the consonant system in Armenian" (in Russian) *Voprosy Yaz* 6 (1959) 68-77. Comments on Garibyan's article (no 12326)

12326 GARIBYAN, A S "Armenian consonantism" (in Russian) *Voprosy Yaz* 5 (1959) 80-90 Challenges the view that all the Armenian dialects are descended from a single ancient Armenian language

LITERATURE

12327 'AWĀD, KŪRKĪS "Arabic manuscripts in the library of the Iraqi Museum in Baghdad" (in Arabic) *Sumer* nos 1-2 (1959) 25-52 Description of 117 MSS on medicine, pharmacology, and veterinary medicine

12328 GREENBURG, HAROLD J "The first American to discover Islam" *Islamic Rev* 47 (N'59) 13-8 Washington Irving's *Life of Mahomet* is the first sympathetic biography of the Prophet to appear in the United States Other works of Irving testify to his love of Islam

12329 MIRZOYEV, A M "Mufid Yazdi and Mufid Balkhi" (in Russian). *Prob Vostoka* 5 (1959) 170-8 Discusses the criteria for determining the authorship of poems ascribed to poets with the same *takhallus*.

12330 RYPKA, J "Hāquānīs Madā in Qaṣide rhetorisch beleuchtet" *Archiv O* 27, no 2 (1959) 199-205. An analysis of the rhetorical devices used by the famous Persian poet The author considers the qasidah to be a pessimistic soliloquy rather than a patriotic exhortation

BIBLIOGRAPHY

12331 "The Muslim republics of the U.S.S.R." *R C A J.* 46 (Jl-O'59) 200-12 A review of recent Soviet publications

BIOGRAPHY

12332 "Arthur Jeffery a tribute" *Muslim World* 50 (Ja'60) 49-54 Tribute to the late professor of Arabic at Columbia University by John S. Badeau, Eric F F Bishop, and Frederick C Grant

BOOK REVIEWS

12333 *The Middle East,* 7th ed **Muslim World** 50 (Ja'60) 65 (Elmer H Douglas), **Internat. Aff.** 36 (Ja'60) 124 (S H Longrigg). "Maintains or indeed improves upon an already high standard of accuracy"

12334 *St. Antony's papers* no 4, **R.C.A.J.** 46 (Jl-O'59) 293-4 Seven papers on different aspects of the Middle East Nasir's economic reforms, Egyptian trade unions, Sudanese Mahdia, Persian secret societies in the 1905 revolution, Britain in the Persian gulf, the crisis of 1956

12335 AFNAN, SOHEIL *Avicenna.* **Muslim World** 50 (Ja'60) 59-60 (William L Bradley) Avicenna "is presented as a man of flesh and blood rather than as an encyclopedia of ideas"

12336 AUPHAN, PAUL *The French navy in World War II.* **U. S. Naval Inst. Proceed.** vol 85, no 9 (S'59) 108-110 (Adm A G. Kirk) Includes the "drama of Mers-el-Kebir," "The Alexandria fleet," "Operation Torch," and the North African campaign

12337 AVRAM, BENNO *The evolution of the Suez Canal status from 1869 to 1956* **MEJ** 13, no 4 (1959) 459-60 (Quincy Wright) " a careful resumé of the law of the Suez Canal"

12338 BAMMATE, HAIDAR *Visages de l'Islam,* 2nd ed **Internat. Aff.** 36 (Ja'60) 122 (G E Wheeler)

12339 BARTH, FREDRIK *Political leadership among the Swat Pathans* **MEJ** 14, no 1 (1960) 104-5 (Keith Callard) " . an admirable monograph "

12340 BAULIN, J *Face au nationalisme Arabe* **MEJ** 13, no 4 (1959) 460-1 (Paul L Hanna) " might well be pondered in Washington, in London, and in Paris"

12341 BERKES, NIYAZI, tr and ed *Turkish nationalism and western civilization.* **R.C.A.J.** 46 (Jl-O'59) 296-7 (Paul B Henze). Selected essays of Ziya Gokalp

12342 BIRDWOOD, LORD *Nuri as-Said: a study in Arab leadership* **R.C.A.J.** 46 (Jl-O'59) 295-6 (L A Morris). Contains "many worthwhile facts, both old and new," **Internat. Aff.** 36 (Ja'60) 125-6 (S H Longrigg) Provides "in a large measure the Pasha's own version of episodes and phases of his career"

12343 BOTTING, DOUGLAS *Islands of the dragon's blood.* **Muslim World** 50 (Ja'60) 64-5 (George C. Grant) "A readable account of a visit to the island of Socotra in 1956 by some Oxford students"

12344 BOUTROS-GHALI, B & CHLALA, Y *Le canal de Suez* **MEJ** 13, no 4 (1959) 459-60 (Quincy Wright). Should be read together with Avram (no 12337 above) both for material presented and for points of view

12345 BRITTAIN, ROBERT *Rivers and man* **R.C.A.J.** (Jl-O'59) 297-8 The influence exerted by the Tigris, Euphrates, and Nile on human evolution up to the Middle Ages

12346 BULLARD, SIR READER, ed *The Middle East. a political and economic survey,* 1958 edition **Amer. Polit. Sci. Rev.** vol 54, no 4 (D'59) 1133-5 (John S Badeau) "An indispensable handbook for the area"

12347 Chatham House Study Group *British interests in the Mediterranean and Middle East* **Mid. East Aff.** 10 (D'59) 399-400 (H Donaldson Jordan) "Perhaps the most valuable single viewpoint is the stress laid on the absolute need for coming to terms with Arab nationalism"

12348 FATTAL, ANTOINE *Le statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam.* **Muslim World** 50 (Ja'60) 61-3 (Elmer H Douglas) "Ample annotations and an exceptionally rich bibliography of primary sources assure the usefulness of this volume to students of Christian-Muslim relationships"

12349 FURON, RAYMOND *Le Proche-Orient* **Mid. East Aff.** 10 (O'59) 332-3 (John B Christopher) "An excellent illustration of how the Middle East looks from . . Paris . the French colonial point of view at its most unreconstructed"

12350 GENDARME, RENÉ. *L'économie d'Algérie* **Internat. Aff.** 36 (Ja'60) 125 (Nevill Barbour) "An interesting and lucid work"

12351 GLUBB, JOHN BAGOT *Britain and the Arabs* **R.C.A.J.** 46 (Jl-O'59) 292-3 "A book from which all who are interested in the Middle East will receive great profit"

12352 GREAVES, R L *Persia and the defense of India, 1884-92* **R.C.A.J.** 48 (Jl-O'59) 281-3 (C. H Ellis) "A valuable contribution to a period of history about which little is known to the present generation"

12353 HARRIS, GEORGE L et al *Iraq.* **Mid. East Aff.** 10 (D'59) 400-1 (John Troutbeck). "A basis for further study rather than an actual picture of Iraq"

12354 HARRIS, GEORGE, ed *Jordan* **Muslim World** 50 (Ja'60) 58-9 (Alan Tichenor). "A sociological analysis in the best tradition of objective research, full of facts with a minimum of subjective observations"

12355 HAY, RUPERT *The Persian Gulf states.* **MEJ** 14, no 1 (1960) 103-4 (William Brewer)

12356 IZZARD, RALPH and MOLLY *Smelling the breezes* **R.C.A.J.** 46 (Jl-O'59) 300. (G. M. Routh). Account of a journey through the High Lebanon

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12358 KAMĀLĪ, SABĪTH AHMAD, tr *Incoherence of the philosophers* (of al-Ghazālī). **Muslim World** 50 (Ja'60) 60 (James Robson) "A translation which is both accurate and readable"

12359 KARANJIA, R K *Arab dawn.* **Internat. Aff.** 36 (Ja'60) 124-5 (S H Longrigg) Adds little to the subject of Arab nationalism

12360 KISLYOKOV, N A *Family and marriage among the Tadjiks* (in Russian) **Sov. Etnografiya** 6 (1959) 204-6 (L Monogarova) Based on ethnographic materials collected over 20 years

12361 LACOUTURE, J & S *Egypt in transition* **MEJ** 13, no 4 (1959) 458-9 (Don Peretz). Despite the fact that the book "is a living account of the contemporary Egyptian scene," it "suffers from poor organization and improper balance in its presentation of historical background . . ."

12362 LANDAU, JACOB M *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema.* **Muslim World** 50 (Ja'60) 57-8 (Kermit Schoonover) "A good survey"

12363 LANDAU, ROM *Islam and the Arabs* **Muslim World** 50 (Ja'60) 55-6 (Albert H. Hourani) Contains "a large amount of information, most of it accurate"

12364 LAQUEUR, WALTER Z *The Soviet Union and the Middle East* **Internat Aff.** 36 (Ja'60) 122-3 "Definitely explodes the popular concept of a long-term Soviet diplomatic plan backed by Machiavellian skill and finesse" **Commentary** 28 (N'59) 449-51 (G E Von Grunebaum) The author's skills "permit the reader to confront directly the whole complex of Soviet policy making and policy implementation"

12365 LERNER, DANIEL with PEVSNER, LUCILLE W *The passing of traditional society: modernizing the Middle East* **Amer Polit. Sci. Rev.** vol 53, no 4 (D'59) 1133-5 (John S Badeau) "Solid piece of social research . . indispensable in judging the rapid social changes that . engulf Middle East society"

12366 L'HULLIER, FERNAND *Fondements historiques des problèmes du Moyen-Orient* **Mid. East Aff.** 10 (N'59) 373. (Jean-Jacques Berreby). "A very quick 'bird's eye view' of some of the most complicated problems of contemporary international relations and politics"

12367 LONGRIGG, STEPHEN H and STOAKES, FRANK *Iraq* **Mid. East Aff** 10 (N'59) 374 (Majid Khadduri) "An excellent survey of the social, economic, and political development of Iraq"

12368 LUTHER, ERNEST W. *Ethiopia today.* **Internat. Aff.** 36 (Ja'60) 128-9 The author has

"concisely illuminated the main structure of the Ethiopian scene"

12369 MARLOWE, JOHN *The seat of Pilate.* Internat. Aff. 36 (Ja'60) 126. (R.H.S. Crossman). "A superb account of the politics of the Mandate"

12370 MEYER, A. J. *Middle Eastern capitalism* New Leader (New York) 36 (D 14 '59) 9-11 (Hal Lehrman). The reviewer has high praise for a brilliant analysis, but calls the author's recommendations "old bromides"

12371 OPPERMANN, THOMAS. *Die algerische Frage.* Pol. Étrangère 24, no 6 (1959) 645-6. A pessimistic view

12372 PAKENHAM, THOMAS *The mountains of Rasselas.* Internat. Aff. 36 (Ja'60) 129-30. (Nevill Barbour) "Describes an attempt to find and visit the mountain or mountains on which Ethiopian royal princes were at one time imprisoned"

12373 PEARSON, J D' *Index Islamicus* (1906-1955). Muslim World 50 (Ja'60) 63-4. (Elmer H. Douglas) "A tool which may prove to be indispensable in the field of Islamic research . . a catalogue of articles published over a period of fifty years."

12374 POLK, WILLIAM R, STAMLER M, and ASFOUR, EDMUND. *Backdrop to tragedy.* Mid. East Aff. 10 (O'59) 331-2. (W E. Goldner) "The book attempts the nearly impossible—to discuss unemotionally some of the most explosive issues of the post-World War II period Zionism, the founding of the State of Israel, its impact on the Arab world, and the problem of the Palestinian refugees"

12375 QUBAIN, FAHIM I *The reconstruction of Iraq· 1950-57.* Mid. East Aff. 10 (N'59) 372-3 (Frank Stoakes). "Summarizes and critically assesses the aims, organization and achievement of the development program in pre-revolutionary Iraq"

12376 RONDOT, PIERRE. *L'Islam et les Musulmans d'aujourd'hui.* Muslim World 50 (Ja'60) 56-7. (Harold B. Smith) "Has remarkable scope and evinces a solid background of scholarship."

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12378 SAYEGH, FAYEZ. *Arab unity· hope and fulfillment* MEJ 14, no. 1 (1960) 100-1. (Richard H Nolte). ". . . the only major treatment to date of the subject in English . . ."

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12380 SHWADRAN, BENJAMIN *The Middle East, oil and the great powers, 1959,* 2nd ed. Internat. Aff. 36 (Ja'60) 124. (S. H Longrigg)

12381 SINGH, SARDAR GANDA *Amad Shah Durrani.* R.C.A.J. 46 (Jl-O'59) 286-7. (Olaf Caroe). An excellent biography of the soldier who founded the Afghan state

12382 THESIGER, W. *Arabian sands* MEJ 14, no 1 (1960) 99-100. (Eric Macro). "The author's integrity, sincerity and modesty . . impress."

12383 TSCHENKÉLI, KITA *Einführung in die georgische Sprache.* Archiv. O. 27, no 2 (1959) 350-3 (J Jedlička).

12384 VIAZMINA, A M, ed. *Uzbek poetry* MEJ 13, no 4 (1959) 467-8. (Edward Allworth). "The main weakness of the collection, aside from its propaganda content, is the lack of folk poetry . "

12385 WAHEED, SHEIKH A *The Kurds and their country.* R.C.A.J. 46 (Jl-O'59) 301-2. "A painstaking compiled little book by an officer of the Pakistani Army"

12386 YALE, WILLIAM *The Near East.* Internat. Aff. 36 (Ja'60) 121-2. (Elizabeth Monroe).

12387 ZAKHODER, B. N., ed. *Sovremennyi Iran* MEJ 13, no 4 (1959) 463-4 (Earnest R Oney) "The only comparable work in English, the Human Relations Area Files volume on Iran, unfortunately falls short of the Soviet production"

LIST OF PERIODICALS UNDER SURVEY

al-Abhath. Lebanon and Syria, £L 9; foreign, £1; single issue £L 2 50, 6s. *q* American Univ. of Beirut; agent: Dar al-Kitab, POB 1284, Beirut, Lebanon

Acta Orientalia. 60 forint *irreg* Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Orientalisztikai Közleményei, 2 V. Alkotmány-utca 21, Budapest, Hungary.

al-Adib. Single issue £L 1. *m* al-Adib, B.P. 878, Beirut, Lebanon.

African Affairs. £1 4s; single issue 5s. *q* Royal African Society, 18 Northumberland Ave., London, W.C.2.

African Studies. £1; single issue 5s. *q* Dept. of Bantu Studies, Univ. of the Witwatersrand, Milner Park, Johannesburg, S Africa; agent: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., 43 Gr. Russell St., London, W.C.1.

L'Afrique et l'Asie. 800 fr. *q* I.A.C. 8, rue de Furstenberg, Paris 6e.

American Historical Review. $7.50; single issue $2. *q* American Historical Association, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D C.; single issues available from The Macmillan Co, 60 Fifth Ave, New York 11, N. Y.

American Journal of Archaeology. $10.00; no extra charge for foreign subscription. *q* Archaeological Institute of America, 5 Washington Square N, New York 3, N. Y.

al-Andalus. 60 ptas.; single issue 30 ptas *semi-ann* Secretaria, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Cambio Internacional Serrano 117, Madrid, Spain.

Ankara Universitesi Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Kakultesinin Dergisi. *4 parts per ann* Univ. of Ankara, Turkey.

Annales Archéologiques de Syrie. Syria, £S 20; foreign, £2 10s or equiv.; single issues £S 10, £1 5s *semi-ann* Direction Générale des Antiquités de Syrie, Damascus, Syria

Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger. No fixed price. Institut d'Études Orientales, Faculté des Lettres, Algiers, Algeria

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Membership, U S., $5, Can, $4 50; elsewhere, $4; subscription, libraries and other institutions, $6; single issue, mbrs. $1.25, nonmbrs $2. *bi-m* American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3937 Chestnut St, Philadelphia 4, Pa

Arab World. Town mbrs. £1 1s; country & overseas mbrs. 10s 6d. *q* Anglo-Arab Assn., 27 Eaton Place, London, S W 1.

Arabica. Fl. 26, fr. 2400 *3 issues per ann* E J Brill, Oude Rijn 33a, Leiden, The Netherlands, Librairie Orientale et Americaine G P Maisonneuve, 198, Blvd. St-Germain, Paris 7e.

Archiv Orientální. Kčs 100, single issue Kčs 25, *p* Československá akademie ved Orientální ústav, Lásenská 4, Praha III, Czechoslovakia

Armenian Review. $6, single issue $1.75 *q* Hairenik Association, Inc., 212 Stuart St., Boston 16, Mass.

Asiatische Studien. Sw. fr. 18 *q* A. Francke, A. G. Verlag. Bern, Switzerland.

Belleten. *q* Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, Turkey

Bibliotheca Orientalis. $9.50; single issue $2 *bi-m* Dr A. A. Kampman, ed., Noordeindesplein 4a, Leiden, The Netherlands.

British Museum Quarterly. £1; single issue 5s 3d. *q* Trustees of the British Museum, Gt. Russell St London, W C.1.

Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art. $3; single issue 35¢. *m (10 issues per ann)* Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts. 80¢, single issue 25¢ *q* Detroit Institute of Arts, 5200 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Bulletin des Etudes Arabes. *bi-m* 175 Chemin du Telemly, Algiers, Algeria

Bulletin de l'Institut du Desert Egyptien. By exchange or request. *semi-ann* M. Mitwally, Sec Gen. de l'Institut du Desert Egyptien, Blvd. Sultan Hussein, Héliopolis, Egypt.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. £1 11s; single issue 15s 6d. *semi-ann* University Press, 316-324 Oxford Road, Manchester 13, England.

Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts. $1; single issue 25¢. *q* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 15, Mass.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. £1 10s. *3 issues per year* School of Oriental & African Studies, Univ. of London, London, W C.1; agent: Luzac & Co., 46 Gt. Russell St, London, W C.1.

Burlington Magazine. UK, £3; foreign, $10; single issue 5s, $1. *m* Burlington Magazine, Lt, 12 Bedford Square, London, W C 1.

Cahiers de Tunisie (formerly Revue Tunisienne). 1000 fr, foreign, 1200 fr; single issue 400 fr. *q* L'Institut des Hautes Études de Tunisie, 2 rue de Souk-Ahras, Tunis, Tunisia.

The Caucasian Review. Institute for the Study of the USSR Mannhardtstrasset, 6, Munich 22, Germany

Central Asian Review. 30s; single issue 7s 6d *q* Geoffrey Wheeler and David Footman, eds. 66 King's Road, London, S W. 3.

Commentary. U.S, $5; foreign, $6, single issue 50¢. *m* American Jewish Committee, 34 W. 33rd St., New York 1, N Y

Current History. U S., $6, Can, $6 25; elsewhere, $6 50, single issue 50¢. *m* Events Publ Co, 108-10 Walnut St., Philadelphia 6, Pa

L'Egypte Contemporaine. Egypt, £E 1 50, foreign, £1 14s, single issue £E .40, 9s. *q* Boite Postale 732, Cairo

L'Egypte Industrielle. Egypt, £E 1, foreign, £1 10s; single issue £E 15, 15s *m* La Fédération Égyptienne de l'Industrie, Mahmoud Bayram, ed., 26a rue Cherif Pacha, Cairo

Ethnos. Swed cr 15, single issue Swed cr 4 *q* Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm Ö, Sweden

Faenza. Italy, lire 1000, foreign, lire 1500; single issue lire 200, lire 300 *semi-ann* Direzione del Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche, Faenza, Italy

Foreign Affairs. $6, single issue $1 50 *q* Council on Foreign Relations, 58 E 68th St., New York 21, N Y

Geographical Journal. £1 16s; single issue 8s 6d *q* Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, London, S.W 7; agent, John Murray (Publ), Ltd, 50 Albemarle St., London, W 1

Geographical Review. $9 50, single issue $2.50 *q* American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th St, New York 32, N. Y.

Hamizrah Hehadash. Israel, £1 4, foreign $6, single issue £1, $1 25. *q* Israel Oriental Society, Hebrew Univ, Jerusalem, Israel

Héspéris. 2600 fr; single issue 1300 fr *semi-ann* Secrétariat des Publications, Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, Rabat, Morocco, agent: Librairie Larose, 11 rue Victor-Cousin, Paris 5e.

IBLA. Tunisia and France, 850 fr, foreign, 1000 fr; single issue 215 fr, 250 fr *q* Institut des Belles-Lettres, 12 rue Jamaa el Haoua, Tunis, Tunisia.

Ilahiyat Fakultesi Dergisi. Faculty of Divinity, Ankara Univ, Cebeci, Ankara, Turkey.

Illustrated London News. UK, £5 18s 6d; U.S., (British Edition) $18, (American Edition) $16.50; single issue 3s, 35¢ *w* 1 New Oxford St, London, W C.1; agent: International News Company. 131 Varick St., New York 13, N. Y.

International Affairs. UK, £1 5s; U.S., $5; single issue 6s 6d, $1.25. *q* Royal Institute of Interna-

tional Affairs, Chatham House, Et. James' Square, London, S W 1, 345 East 46th St., New York 17 N. Y

International Social Science Bulletin. $3 50, single issue $1 *q* UNESCO, 19 avenue Kleber, Paris 16e, U.S agent Columbia Univ Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27

Iraq. £1 11s, single issue 18s *semi-ann* British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 20 Wilton St, London, S W 1

Isis. $7 50, single issue $1 90 *q* History of Science Society, I Bernard Cohen, ed, Widener Library 189, Cambridge 38, Mass

Der Islam. DMW 28, single issue DMW 10 *3 issues per year* Schriftleitung des Islams, Prof Dr R Strothman & Prof Dr B Spuler, ed, Bornplatz 2, Hamburg 13, Germany, agent Walter de Gruyter & Co, Genthiner Str 13, Berlin W5 (U S Sector)

Islamic Culture. *Sterling area*, £1 10s, elsewhere $6, single issue 7s 6d, $1 50 *q* Islamic Culture Board, POB 171, Hyderabad, India

Islamic Literature. Pakistan, P Rs 10/-, foreign, $3 50, single issue Pakistan, P R 1/-, foreign 30¢ *m* Sh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, Pakistan, agent Orientalia, Inc, 11 E 12th St, New York 3, N Y

Islamic Quarterly. 30s, single issue 7s 6d *q* The Islamic Cultural Centre, Regent's Lodge, 146 Park Rd, London, N W 8

Islamic Review. UK, £1 5s, U S, $3 75, single issue 2s 6d, 37¢ *m* Working Muslim Mission & Literary Trust, Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England, Moslem Society of USA, 870 Castro St, San Francisco, Calif, The International Muslim Society, Inc, POB 37, Manhattanville, Station J, New York 27, N Y

Izvestiya Akademii Nauk—Otdeleniye Literaturi i Yazyka.* $4 50 or £1 10s, single issue 90¢, 6s plus postage *bi-m* Moscow, USSR

Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen DMW 24 *ann* Publ Dr Ernst Hauswedell & Co Verlag, Fontenay 4, Hamburg 36, Germany

Jewish Quarterly Review. $6 *q* The Dropsie College, Broad & York Sts, Philadelphia 32, Pa

Journal of the American Oriental Society. $8, libraries, $7, single issue $2 *q* American Oriental Society, 329 Sterling Memorial Library, New Haven, Conn

Journal Asiatique. *q* Société Asiatique, 1 rue de Seine, Paris 6e

Journal of Modern History. $7 50, single issue $2 25 *q* Univ of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave, Chicago 37, Ill

Journal of Near Eastern Studies. $6 in U S and Pan American Postal Union, postage added outside PanAm Postal Union, single issue $1 75 *q* Dept of Oriental Languages and Literatures, Univ of Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Ill

Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society. Rs 10/-(Pakistani); single issue Rl 3/-(Pakistani) *q* Pakistan Historical Society, 2/45 Jacob Lines, Karachi, Pakistan.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. £2 8s, single issue £1 10s *semi-ann* Royal Asiatic Society, 56 Queen Anne St., London, W 1

Journal of World History. See Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale

Kirjath Sepher. $5, single issue $1 25 *q* Jewish National and Univ Library, POB 503, Jerusalem, Israel

al-Kulliya. £E 20, single issue £E 10 *semi-ann* Khartoum Univ College, Khartoum, Sudan

al-Machriq. Lebanon and Syria, £L 25, foreign, $9, single issue £L 4 50, $2 *bi-m* Fr I-Abdo Khalifé, S J, Univ Saint Joseph, Beirut, Lebanon

Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi. £S 10 *q* Damascus, Syria

Man. £1 10s, single issue 2s 6d *m* Royal Anthropological Institute, 21 Bedford Square, London, W C 1

Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph *irreg* Univ Saint Joseph, Beirut, Lebanon, agent· Librairie Orientale, Place de l'Étoile, Beirut, Lebanon

Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin. Free to mbrs, subscr $5, single issue 50¢ *m (Oct-June) q (July-Sept)* Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave at 82nd St, New York 28, N Y

Middle East Forum. Lebanon and Syria, £L 10, Egypt £E 1 25, other Middle East countries, £L 11 or equivalent, elsewhere, $5 or equivalent *m* Alumni Office, American University of Beirut, Lebanon, U S agent Helen Braun, Rm 421, 40 Worth St, New York

Middle East Journal. Free to mbrs, subscr $6; single issue $1 50 *q* Middle East Institute, 1761 N St, N W, Washington 6, D C

Middle Eastern Affairs. $5—foreign and domestic, single issue—50¢, double issue—$1 *m (10 issues per ann)* Council for Middle Eastern Affairs, 432 4th Avenue, New York 16, N Y

Le Muséon 300 Belg fr 2 *double vols. per year* Le Muséon, 9 Ave. des Hêtres, Héverlé-Louvain, Belgium

Muslim World. $3, single issue 75¢ *q* Dr Kenneth Cragg, ed, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford 5, Conn

National Geographic Magazine. $6 50, foreign, $7 75, single issue 65¢, 75¢ *m* National Geographic Society, 16th & M Sts., N W., Washington 6, D C

New Times.* $3 50 or 14s, single issue 10¢, 4d plus postage *w* Moscow, USSR

Oriens. TL15, $5 *semi-ann* Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research, c/o E J Brill, Oude Rijn 33a, Leiden, The Netherlands, agent for U S & Can Prof Dr Eberhard, 604

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* Agents in the U S for Russian publications Four Continent Book Corporation, 38 W. 58th St, New York 19, N Y, Universal Distributors, 52-54 W 13th St, New York 11, N. Y.

Panoramic Way, Berkeley, Calif

Orient. *q* ed Marcel Colombe, 114 Champs Elysées, Paris VIII.

Orientalische Literatur Zeitung. *q* J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, Scherlstr. 2, (10B) Leipzig, C1, Germany

Oriente Moderno. $8 *m* Instituto per l'Oriente, Viale Davide Lubin 2, Rome

Palestine Exploration Quarterly. £1 1s. *semi-ann* Palestine Exploration Fund, 2 Hinde St, Manchester Square, London, W 1

Politique Etrangère. 1800 fr, foreign, 2250 fr, single issue 330 fr. *bi-m* Centre d'Études de Politique Étrangere, 54 rue de Varenne, Paris 7e

Proceedings Royal Society of Historical Studies. *irreg* 18 Ave du Baron Empain, Héliopolis, Egypt

Revue du Caire. Egypt, £E 2 25, *foreign*, 2000 fr, single issue £E 20, 200 fr *m* 3 rue Dr Ahmed Hamid Said, Cairo, Les Éditions des Cahiers du Sud, 28 rue du Four, Paris 6e

Revue Egyptienne de Droit International. Egypt, £E 1, foreign, £E 1 25 *ann* Société Égyptienne de Droit International, 16 Ave. el-Malika, Cairo

Revue des Etudes Islamiques. 12 rue Vavin, Paris 6e

Revenue Historique. France, 1500 fr, foreign, 1750 fr, single issue 450 fr *q* Prof. Pierre Renouvin, ed, 7 Place de la Sorbonne, Paris 5e, Presses Universitaires de France, 108 Blvd Saint-Germain, Paris 6e

Rivista degli Studii Orientali. Lire 3000 *q* Istituto di Studi Orientali, Univ di Roma, Roma

Rocznik Orientalni. Warsaw, Poland

Round Table. UK, £1 10s, foreign, $5, single issue 7s 6d, $1 25 *q* 15 Ormond Yard, Duke of York St, London, S W 1

Royal Central Asian Journal. £1 5s, single issue 7s 6d, July/Oct double number 9s 6d, plus postage *q* Royal Central Asian Society, 2 Hinde St, Manchester Square, London, W 1

Saeculum (Jahrbuch fur Universalgeschichte) DMW 24, single issue DMW 7. *q* Verlag Karl Alber, Johanniterstr 4, Freiburg/Breisgau, V Karl Alber, Freiburg-München, Germany

Sovetskaia Etnografia * $7 50 or £1 1s; single issue $2 10, 8s 6d plus postage, *q* Moscow, USSR.

Speculum. Free to mbrs, subscr $7. *q* Mediaeval Academy of America, 1430 Massachusetts Ave, Cambridge 38, Mass

Studia Islamica. Single issue, 650 fr *semi-ann* Editions Larose, 11 rue Victor-Cousin, Paris 5e

Sudan Notes & Records (incorporating Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of the Sudan). Sudan and Egypt, £E 75, foreign, 18s, single issue £E 40, 9s *semi-ann* G N Sanderson, ed, POB 555, Khartoum, Sudan, agent Luzac & Co, Ltd, 46 Gt Russel St, London, W C 1.

Sumer (Journal of Archaeology in Iraq) Iraq, £I 1, *foreign*, £1 10s, single issue 10s, 15s *semi-ann* Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad, Iraq

Tamuda. Spain & Span Morrocco, 100 ptas, foreign, $4, single issue 60 ptas., $2.50. *semi-ann* Delegación de Educación y Cultura, Tetuan, Spanish Morocco

Tarbiz. $5 *q* Magnes Press, Hebrew Univ, Jerusalem, Israel

U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings. $5, foreign, $6, single issue 50¢ *m* Cdr Roy de S Horn, ed, U S Naval Institute, Annapolis, Md

Ural-Altaische Jahrbucher. DMW 40, single issue DMW 20 *semi-ann* Prof Julius von Farkas, ed, Hospitalstr 10, Göttingen, Publ Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, Germany

Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR.* $8 or £2, single issue 80¢, 4s plus postage *m* Moscow, USSR

Vestnik Drevnei Istorii * $8 or £2, single issue $2, 12s plus postage *q* Moscow, USSR

Voprosy Istorii.* $5, single issue 50¢ plus postage *m* Moscow, USSR.

Die Welt des Islams. Gld 25, $6 60 *q* Prof G Jäschke, ed, (21a) Munster (Westf), Hüfferstr 69, Germany, Publ E J. Brill, Dude Rijn 33a, Leiden, The Netherlands

Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes. *irreg* Orientalisches Institut der Universität Wien, Hanuschgasse 3/II, Vienna I, Austria

World Today. UK, £1 5s, U S, $5, single issue 2s, 45¢ *m* Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, St James' Square, London, S W 1, 345 E 46th St, New York 17, N Y

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft. *semi-ann* Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GMBH, Weisbaden, Germany.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

The Mizan Newsletter, by Central Asian Research Centre in association with St Antony's College (Oxford) Soviet Affairs Study Group. London: Central Asian Research Center, 1959 10s ea.

Bibliography of Recent Soviet Source Materials on Soviet Central Asia and the Borderlands. London Central Asian Research Centre, 1959

Since more than one-third of Asia is USSR territory populated by millions of Russian colonizers and the indigenous peoples, Kremlin concern with the adjacent lands of Persia, Afghanistan, etc., and Islam in general is readily understandable Information on Soviet aims and problems in the area should be of deep interest to the West Just as Russian scientific and technological capabilities and, to some extent, plans are revealed in the technical literature, so are their political strengths and weaknesses and, perhaps, intentions shown by specialized periodicals and general publications These contain data not readily available elsewhere, boasts of triumphs and muted admissions of failures, and commentaries by scholars, propagandists, and government officials Designed to

serve Soviet purposes, when properly assessed they may serve ours as well

This material has not been regularly surveyed or given the attention it deserves partly because of inaccessibility and the difficult languages in which it is written and partly because the content has not seemed sufficiently important. A symptom of the changing attitude of the West in this respect is the splendid initiative of the Central Asian Research Centre in Oxford. The Centre, which publishes a quarterly review of cultural developments in the six Muslim republics of the USSR *(Central Asian Review)*, is now issuing a monthly newsletter entitled the *Mizan* (from the Arabic word for "scales"). The *Mizan* has a neat, looseleaf format averaging 20 pages per issue It includes a survey of Soviet views on the Islamic countries, analyses of specific topics (e g., "The Soviet Ideal and Iraqi Reality," "Soviet Reactions to Persian Policy," "New Tasks for Soviet Orientalists," etc), translated excerpts and, where the significance seems to warrant, entire articles from such major publications as *Sovremenyy Vostok* (The Modern East) and *Problemy Vostokvedeniya* (Problems in Oriental Studies), together with summaries of newspaper articles on pertinent events. The presentation is objective, the translation smooth and reliable.

The Centre puts out another useful publication, a semi-annual annotated listing of articles appearing in some 50 Soviet journals, classified under such headings as "Agriculture and Forestry," "Economics," "History," "Political and Party Affairs," "Transport," etc The usefulness of the bibliography would be enhanced by a table of contents and somewhat fuller annotations, which are now mostly paraphrases of the titles of the articles

There is no question that the *Mizan Newsletter* and bibliography will be valuable tools for government researchers, scholars, journalists, etc. It will help them to deepen their insights and possibly to forecast certain developments in the unfolding of Soviet Middle East policy.

ABBREVIATIONS

A., Asian, Asiatic, asiatique
Acad, Academy
Afr., African, Afrique, etc.
fr, frican, Afrique, etc.
Amer, American
Archeol, Archaeological, Archéologique
B., Bulletin
C., Central
Cent., Century
Contemp., Contemporary, etc
Cult, Culture
D, Deutsch
Dept, Department
East., Eastern
Econ, Economic, économique
For., Foreign
G., Gesellschaft
Geog., Geographical, géographique, etc
Gt. Brit, Great Britain
Hist., Historical, historique, etc
Illust, Illustrated
Inst, Institute
Internat, International
J., Journal
L., Literature, etc
M, Morgenländisch, etc.
Mag., Magazine
Mid, Middle
Mod, Modern, moderno, etc.
Mus, Museum, musée
Natl., National
Nr., Near
Numis, Numismatic, numismatique
O, Oriental, oriente, etc
Pal, Palestine
Phil, Philosophical
Philol, Philological, Philologique
Polit., Political, Politique
Proceed, Proceedings
Quart., Quarterly
R, Royal
Res, Research
Rev., Review, revue
Riv., Rivista
S, School
Soc, Society, société
Stud, Studies
Trans, Transactions
U S, United States
USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Univ., University, université
Z, Zeitschrift, Zeitung

Arabic

K, Kitab, etc
Maj, Majallah, etc

Russian, Polish, etc

Akad., Akademii
Fil, Filosofi
Inst, Institut
Ist, Istorii
Izvest., Izvestia
Lit, Literaturi
Orient, Orientalni
Ser., Seriya
Sov, Sovetskoye
Uchon, Uchoniye
Vostok., Vostokovedenia
Yaz., Yazika
Zap, Zapiska

Turkish

Fak., Fakülte
Univ, Üniversite

Communications

With this issue, the JOURNAL *inaugurates a new section to replace the former "Reader's Commentary." Letters of comment on previous articles will continue to be welcome, and, in addition, communications such as that below, on the anniversary of an academic institution, or other information of interest, will be printed as space is available.*

On the Occasion of a Centennial Anniversary

THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCES OF TURKEY

Dr. Türkkaya Ataöv

During the academic year of 1959-1960 the Faculty of Political Sciences of Ankara University celebrates its centennial anniversary. The Faculty is one of the principal institutions in Turkey that offer intensive education in the fields of political science, economics, public administration and international relations. The establishment of the school and its development are closely related to the Westernization and modernization movements which have been taking place in Turkey for more than a century. With the beginning of social reforms, the need for administrators trained according to Western standards was strongly felt in order to adjust the administrative procedure and mechanism to the necessities of the day and to increase the efficiency of the political and administrative organization. The Faculty, founded as a vocational school in 1859 for the purpose of meeting these needs, underwent various changes in the attainment of its present status. From a modest school educating administrators for certain government agencies, it has developed into a large center of learning which trains young men and women for the needs of the government and private enterprise. The graduates of the Faculty hold some key posts in the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Interior and Finance as well as in the principal banks and corporations. Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey, was sincere when he said in 1934: "This nation is proud of the alumni of the School of Political Science."

The establishment of the school immediately after the Crimean War (1856-1859) marks the first attempt of the Ottoman Government to reform and modernize administrative, fiscal and foreign policies of the country. Thus, the founding of this center of learning provided the most important link of the educational reforms of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The era of *Tanzimat* had recognized the inevitable need to base Ottoman society on a rational foundation and to protect social sciences from the encroachment of certain theocratic principles which miserably failed to cope with the requirements of the day. The progressive proposals of the Permanent Educational Council, created in 1845 to free the elementary educational system from the influence of the *madrassahs,* having failed to arouse the enthusiasm and support it deserved, the intellectual fathers of the *Tanzimat* reforms attempted to modernize the teaching of public administration and political science at the college level. A proposal to this effect submitted in 1858 to Prime Minister Ali Pasha stated:

> The improvement and proper functioning of our relations with the Foreign Powers are possible only if our country produce competent administrators who possess a sound knowledge of modern administrative techniques In order to educate such men it is imperative that the Government creates a modern school equipped to offer courses on political economy, international law, history, geography, accounting and similar subjects

This proposal, which subsequently received the full support of Sultan Abd-ul Majid (1839-1861), led to the founding of the "Maktab-i Mulkiyye," whose curriculum was expanded to include the teaching of international law; statistics and methodology, political economy, administrative law, penal law, commercial law, economics, geography, history, accounting, cosmography and international treaties. In spite of its youthful status, the school started to play a tangible role in providing renascent Turkish administration which experts conversant in new administrative principles and methods Although Sultan Abd-ul Hamid the Second (1876-1909) had at first supported the school wholeheartedly—even to the extent of offering to contribute funds from his personal savings in case the Treasury could not finance it—his interests dwindled in later years chiefly owing to the school's vigorous stand against the government's emphasis to educate men loyal to the régime The administration of the school passed the test of intellectual integrity with flying colors when it insisted that the primary objective should be to teach political sciences in an objective manner rather than to breed docile and submissive men paying supreme allegiance to the despotic rule of Abd-ul Hamid the Second The school, which the government promptly labeled as "subversive" and dangerous, has never abandoned, in the face of pressure and censorship, its mission to feed the feeble flame of freedom The school's first stand in favor of academic liberties is a heritage which the present administration is jealously guarding even in our day Consequently, the teaching staff, imbued with the freedom of thought, was destined to lose the full support of the government which intensified its pressure on the school, especially after the open criticism of the student body of the government Cretan policy of 1897

The 1908 Revolution, which aimed, among other things, at creating an administrative and executive class versed in the spirit of constitutionalism and able to lay the foundations of a government responsible to the people, opened new horizons for the healthy development of the school. The teaching staff took pride that it had the services of prominent men like Abdurrahman Sharaf, Afdaladdin, Yusuf Akchura, Hassan Tahsin, Javid and Sati Beys However, the tolerance of the "Young Turks" also proved to be rather limited, for Talaat Pasha, a member of the ruling triumvirate of the day, closed down the school in 1915 only to realize his error three years later.

The Republican Government, which needed the services of well-trained administrators, financial experts and diplomats in the creation of a Westernized Turkey, fully supported the school However, the school found its fullest expression when the Turkish universities were put on an independent basis in 1946 and when the school was formally incorporated into the structure of Ankara University. Since the latter has coincided with Turkey's efforts to practice two-party democracy, the tasks of the school to educate young men and women in the principles of freedom and democracy, to enrich the knowledge and improve the intellectual level of its students and to teach, in a scientific manner, past and contemporary problems of politics, administration and economics have assumed a more important character The school was always conscious of its historical mission and responsibility to contribute to the intellectual and political evolution of Turkey. Today, the Faculty is jealously defending its right to criticize the government's internal and external policies

The Faculty is carrying out an educational program on both the undergraduate and graduate levels. The undergraduate program is extended over a four-year period. The first two years are devoted to general courses in political and social sciences The last two years are spent in specialization with the student choosing one of three sections: a) the Economics and Public Finance section, b) the Administrative section and c) the Diplomatic and International Relations section. Besides, its educational program, the Faculty carries out research activities primarily through its

specialized institutes. There are five of these institutes presently: a) the Institute of Administrative Sciences, b) the Institute of Economics and Public Finance, c) the Institute of International Relations, d) the Institute of Town and Country Planning and e) the Institute of Business Administration. The curriculum, which now has a wide range, includes, among many others, courses on public administration, economic systems, contemporary economic problems, methodology of social sciences, comparative budgetary systems, comparative government, social politics and law, and the like.

The school's alumni include numerous premiers, cabinet members, deputies to the Grand National Assembly, ambassadors, governors, economists, financial experts and journalists Among the alumni best known to the Western world one can mention Huseyin Jahid Yalchin, the dean of Turkish journalism who, in his eighties, went to jail for his determination to defend the ideals he believed in, Shukru Saracoghlu, Turkey's able Premier and Foreign Minister during the most part of the Second World War, and Hassan Saqa, also a former Premier and Foreign Minister Five members of the present Turkish Cabinet are alumni of the school

The publication activities of the Faculty are also worth mentioning In addition to its quarterly review, *The Review of the Faculty of Political Sciences*, several text-books and monographs are published every year On the occasion of the centennial anniversary, the Faculty is publishing no less than forty books

In the eyes of the Turkish nation, the school has come to symbolize evolution, reformism and academic freedom Ismet Inonu, Turkey's aging but dynamic opposition leader, remarked. "Wherever I see efficient administration, intelligent policy and responsible government, I detect the hand of an alumnus of this school"

* * *

Dear Sir:

In his review of Dr. Alan R. Taylor's *Prelude to Israel* which appeared in your Fall issue, Prof. William Yale commends the author for a presentation of Zionist history which is "notably free of prejudice and propaganda."

Quite to the contrary, I have found the book to be extremely biased Purported to be an analysis of Zionist diplomacy *from 1897-1947,* it sketches in extreme tones of black and white the long and arduous task which Zionists set themselves at the turn of the century in order to realize their goals

Unfortunately, it is these goals which Dr. Taylor misrepresents. He states, for example, that Zionism aims to include within Israel's borders southern Lebanon and Jordan He gives no inkling of the fact, however, that twice since World War I there have been drastic reductions in the territory open to Jewish settlement. In 1922 the British separated Jordan from the rest of Palestine, thereby cutting the mandated area to about one-quarter of its original size. Again, under the terms of the U N Partition Resolution of 1947, the Jews philosophically accepted a further reduction in their territory to only a fraction of what up to then had constituted Palestine Dr Taylor's readers should be reminded that all accretions to Jewish territory since that date are the direct result of the war which the Arabs launched against the Jewish state in violations of the U N Resolution.

Again, Dr Taylor asserts that Zionism aims at the liquidation of the Diaspora through the "ingathering" of all Jews *in* Israel He thus completely disregards Zionism's true intent: that the Jewish people be reestablished on its ancestral soil and that the State of Israel serve as a source of spiritual and cultural inspiration to Jews throughout the world Thus the Zionist idea is premised on the continued existence of Diaspora Jewry and its spiritual and cultural renaissance

In conclusion, it is neither Zionist aims respecting national borders nor any of the other outstanding Arab-Israel problems which, according to Dr Taylor, "may some day make Israel's position in the Middle East untenable" Rather it is the intransigent and violent attitude of the Arab leaders toward Israel, such as that expressed a few years ago by Dr Mohammed Salah ed-Din, one-time Egyptian Foreign Minister, in an interview with the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Misri.* "The Arab peoples are not afraid to disclose that they will not be satisfied

with less than the obliteration of Israel from the map of the Middle East."

Both Arabs and Jews in the Middle East are sorely in need of peace and security so that they may devote their energies to overcoming the social and economic ills which plague the area. Unfortunately, Dr. Taylor's book can only serve further to becloud the issue and aggravate already inflamed passions.

RABBI JEROME UNGER
515 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Sir:

I am writing with reference to footnote 16 in Mr. Dees' article "Jordan's East Ghor Canal Project" in your Autumn 1959 issue In this footnote the author is creating the impression that "mutual distrust between the Arab countries and Israel" brought on "the failure of the Eric Johnston proposals of 1953-1955 for a regional development of the Jordan River."

Relating his experience of these negotiations in two successive reports Ambassador Johnston stated: "A comprehensive plan for the Jordan Valley is already in being Its technical aspects have been approved by the Arab States and by Israel All that it lacks is the political go-ahead signal." *(New York Times Magazine,* August 10, 1958).

"But in October 1955, it was rejected for political reasons at a meeting of the Arab League Syria objected to the project because it would benefit Israel as well as the Arab countries . . . Every year a billion (1,000 million) cubic metres of precious water still roll down the ancient stream, wasted, to the Dead Sea." *(New York Times Magazine,* October 19, 1958).

Incidentally, Israel's present water development projects call for the utilization of the amounts of water allocated to Israel by the Johnston Plan

GIDEON TADMOR
Washington, D C.

Dear Sir:

I did not expect ever to have occasion to complain that Mr. St. John B. Philby was being superficial in his handling of Arabian history; but since he says, "Let the facts speak for th selves," let us have some facts:

1) He writes [Readers' Commentary, *M* Autumn, 1959], "Buraimi has been un Sa'udi occupation for just about 160 years. . It has only been interrupted during two peri when the Sa'udi dynasty itself was in eclips He does not add that one of these periods "interruption" lasted for nearly a century, fr 1869 to 1952! As for the earlier periods Sa'udi tax-levying in that quarter, perhaps would care to comment on Dr. J. B. Kell paper, "The Buraimi Oasis Dispute," *Intern tional Affairs,* 32 (1956).

2) I am of course aware of "the admirab volumes on the history of the area prepared l American experts" (though where are the admirable volumes to be bought?). M Philby does not add that these experts we employed by the oil company that holds th monopoly concession in Sa'udi Arabia an therefore has a material interest in supportin that government's claims As for their objectiv ity, perhaps Mr. Philby would care to commen on Bushrod Howard, Jr's paper, "Buraimi, Study in Diplomacy by Default," *The Reporte* 23 January 1958

3) Mr Philby says that the "myths" con cerning Sa'udi bribery do not interest him Bu why did he write in the *Sunday Time* (London), 23 October 1955, that the Sa'ud Deputy Foreign Minister had "tried to curry favour in advance with the neutral arbitrators by suggesting fantastic sums for their services?" Why did he warn the Sa'udis, "You will lose Buraimi, simply because you cannot believe that a good case can be won by honest methods alone" *(Forty Years in the Wilderness* (1957), p. 3)? What did he mean by blaming the Sa'udis for "losing Buraimi by a sorry exhibition of ineptitude and incompetence, and shrieking with impotent rage at the outcome of their folly" . . "the fantastic mishandling of a castiron case" (ibid, pp 231, 239)?

When Mr. St. John B. Philby wrote these charges he was at outs with the Sa'udis; now Hajj Abdullah is evidently back in again; but not even he can have it both ways.

GEORGE KIRK
Cambridge, Massachusetts